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ABSTRACT

Using data from personal interviews, participant observation in a rural poverty area, and intensive case studies, this study compared 1,325 women according to welfare, marital, and employment status. Working mothers in general were found to have a more effective home life and self-concept, but with some marital problems and concerns about their relationships with the children and the care of their homes. The unemployed had more home and health problems and anticipated more problems if they were to work. Recommendations included improved training and day care opportunities. This volume I of the study summarizes findings and implications from the data. Two other volumes are available as VT 014 886-014 887. (BH)

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# A Study of the Effects on the Family Due to Employment of the Welfare Mother

## Volume I

## FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

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## SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

## THE EFFECT ON THE HOME AND FAMILY OF THE WELFARE WOMAN'S WORKING

### Background Information

The major question of this study was on how the woman's working affected the family, and likewise, how family problems kept her from working. It may be possible to provide incentives to get women to work, but if the family disintegrates, in the long run we may be pound foolish. On the other hand, under some conditions, having women work may be functional for them and for the larger society. This was our main question.

The research focuses on the relationship between the family and occupational systems as found in the lives of a sample of economically poor women. The study explores how factors within the family are barriers to and facilitators toward her entry into the labor force, and how her employment influences her functioning as a mother, a homemaker, a wife, and a person.

To achieve these ends, data were gathered in three different ways: precoded interviews of a large number of women, in-depth studies of women representing four types of employment patterns, and a participant observer study of a rural poverty area in Northern Appalachia.

The sample for the interview study consisted of 1325 women, each of women had at least one teenage child. The study had a 2 X 2 X 2 factorial design, with employed-non-employed, welfare-ex-welfare (six months off welfare rolls), and husband-present - husband-absent groups. Data were gathered by trained interviewers in a rurban area, small to medium sized towns and the rural areas dependent upon them.

Forty-five recommendations were made based on the findings. An Adjunct Training Program was proposed, including a course outline and suggestions for implementing the course and training personnel. The purpose of the Program would be to help women cope with the special problems which women find when they go to work.

The main body of the report is organized into the following chapters:

### A. Background Characteristics of the Women

Questions of age, marital status, race, education, and characteristics of the family of origin were studied. Differences in housing location and quality, size of family and sources of income as well as amount were noted to determine the ways in which employed women differed from the nonemployed.

### B. The Woman as Employee

This section included information about the conditions of work, type of work, and work history of both groups of women. Sources of work satisfactions and problems, work vs. home commitment, motivation, social reinforcements for work or staying at home, reasons for absence and being late, and reasons for leaving the last job or for not returning to work were all examined.

### C. The Woman as Homemaker

Employed women were compared with nonemployed in order to see if homemaking tasks were much more difficult for the employed woman. Did the employed get less satisfaction from homemaking; were meals more difficult and expensive to prepare, were clothes more difficult or easier to acquire; was cleaning the house more or less difficult? Did the employed woman get more help with the housework and did they think they should get more? An "Effective Homemaker" index was proposed to be used to select effective homemakers for further training to become homemaker aides, or for other job training.

## D. The Woman as Mother

Mothers' reports of children's functioning (grades, personality, behavior and after school activities) were compared to determine whether there were adverse or positive effects of the mothers' employment. Problems and satisfactions of children's functioning were compared with the problems and satisfactions of other areas of women's lives. Problems and preferences for child care for preschool and school age children were examined.

## E. The Woman as Wife

The section on the employed woman as a wife compared the working women with those who were not working to determine if those with jobs and a husband found less or more satisfaction on their jobs or in their work at home, as it related to the husband. Marital satisfaction was studied as well as the woman's estimate of the satisfaction her husband felt with the traditional areas of meals, companionship, and care of the home. Marital conflict and questions of dominance were also examined. Did going to work increase a woman's decision making power in regard to children, purchasing, and her working or not? When a woman did not go to work, even though her husband was unable to support the family, how did the woman feel about her husband and the need to accept welfare help? What was the contribution of the husband when the wife was working? Husband and wives were compared on life satisfactions.

## F. The Woman as a Person

The personality attributes of the working women were compared with the nonworking to determine whether there were differences in locus of control, instrumental-expressive qualities, self esteem, and sources of life satisfactions and problems including health, work, home, interpersonal relations and community participation.

## G. Resources

Community resources in educational opportunities, training programs, transportation, child care facilities, and interpersonal resources were examined and their use by the employed and nonemployed compared.

The present chapter presents brief summaries of major findings and their implications. The findings are primarily those for the large scale study but are supplemented by insights from the other studies (the case studies and the study on "Road Junction").

Although 42 sets of findings and their implications are reported in this summary section, a careful reading of the three reports will yield many more.

## A. Brief summary of some salient findings about the effect of work by welfare women on their family and some barriers to employment of the nonemployed.

There is an assumption made by poets, philosophers, artists, biologists, and even some psychologists that there are differences between men and women. The question pertinent here is whether those responsible for job training programs and for finding work for welfare clients are focused on the different kinds of responsibilities the two sexes have if they both have a family and work out of the home for pay. The man's skills are examined and improved, his work habits are improved, transportation problems are coped with. If the person is a woman, it is accepted that having young children may be a barrier to employment and this problem is added as a sex linked special. In this sample of somewhat older women, 60% of those with no preschoolers in the home were not employed so we can conclude that providing child care may be necessary but it will not be sufficient. Having no preschoolers was not a sufficient incentive for employment and we must look to other factors in the lives of these women. Transportation problems were important for about 20% of the women as a factor to be considered in taking a job. Many of the women had low skills and were interested in improving them but many of the low level entry jobs required little training and had low pay. The work habits of the women were good except when a family problem intruded. The major problem women had about working had to do with their being family members. With their major responsibility for the maintenance of the family unit, when work interfered too much, they quit. Some of the relationships between home and work for poor women who were working are:

1. Care of children was a problem and they had to stop work when the children got sick.

2. Their marriages were less a source of satisfaction.

3. They had less time to spend with their children.

4. They had less time to cook good meals and care for the house and felt their husbands were more annoyed about this.

On the other hand it was found that:

1. They felt their children had more respect for them since they were working.

2. Their children were doing as well in school as those of the nonemployed women, were in more school activities and were looking forward to more education.

3. The women had a higher level of self esteem and did not lose their feminine qualities when they became more active in the work world.

4. They were interested in getting even more education and training.

5. They reported fewer physical illnesses.

There were a number of barriers to the employment of the nonemployed.

1. Their attitudes were more like the traditional housewife and they centered around their children, the home, the extended family, and friends with less of a commitment to employment.

2. They complained that their homes were less adequate and less mechanized.

3. Their children were more apt to be sick and the women themselves and their husbands had more serious illnesses.

4. When the women were asked why they had stopped working at their last job, more of them gave family problems such as sickness or child care as reasons, while the employed indicated they quit a job to get a better one.

5. The husband was a prime determiner of the employment and he did not favor her working.

6. Many had inadequate transportation available and could not drive.

7. Friends and relatives supported their not working.

On the other hand, the nonemployed also:

1. Had a higher level of marital satisfaction.

2. Said they would enjoy work.

3. Wanted training in being more effective homemakers and many would pay a small fee for such training and would help organize classes if asked to.

## IMPLICATION:

An adjunct training program is proposed which deals directly with these special problems that women have regarding the way they see the family being hurt by their employment. This proposal also deals with ways to lower the barriers to employment for those not working. This program should be used for most women receiving public assistance who are working or who are potential employees. This program is outlined at the end of this chapter. The specific problems mentioned will be detailed next.

## B. Summary Findings: Child Functioning and Child Care

1. FINDING:

Over half of the women had a strong preference for family care for their preschool children. Most felt that present day care centers and full day nursery schools were inconveniently located, not open convenient hours, had no provision for after-school care of their young school children, and had no facilities for the care of children when they became ill.

IMPLICATION:

A voucher system would allow women to choose the day care service which best met their needs. Day care centers should attempt to meet these objections by changing their hours, helping with after-school care of young school aged children, and providing for children when they become ill. Priorities in funding centers should be made for those that meet the preferences of the mothers.

2. FINDING:

Family day care was perceived as less fun for the child, less likely to teach the child what he needed to know before going to school and less likely to teach him how to get along with other children.

IMPLICATION:

Family day care needs to be upgraded. Some innovative ways to do this are: University extension services could distribute information about low cost educational materials; day care mothers and their charges could be picked up and brought to a center where the children could experience new activities and the day care mother could observe, participate, and discuss her problems; a bus outfitted with creative materials could call at the family child care homes; university students could, as part of their course work, visit homes, provide free service and bring new materials and methods. The Department of Labor should be the center of these innovative activities since family care is so widely used by employed women, its impact for cognitive growth is minimal and its upgrading is currently being neglected on a national scale.

3. FINDING:

Women's most important requirement for good child care was that they have a voice in how their children were to be cared for. They thought this was more likely to occur in family care than in day care centers or nursery schools.

IMPLICATION:

The movement toward having active participation by mothers in the policy making and operation of day care centers needs to be expanded even further so that the centers will meet the needs of the women using the center.

4. FINDING:

Many school aged children of working mothers were either left to care for themselves or were under the care of another child. Only 1% were cared for by organized groups. Finding care for their young school aged child was reported as a problem, especially for the nonemployed.

IMPLICATION:

Family care mothers could be trained to care for young school age children. Day care centers could expand their services to include care for the school child after school and during vacations. High schools and colleges training students in these fields could provide the after-school care as part of their field work.

Mothers could be allowed to deduct costs of school age child care from their income tax and from the deductables allowed in welfare payments.

5. FINDING:

The nonemployed, more than the employed, were interested in occupations working with other peoples's children.

IMPLICATION:

Working with children may be an occupation that is compatable with the self image of many women who perceive themselves as getting satisfaction from children and whose husbands like them to be at home. For some women, being a family care mother will be a transition occupation.

6. FINDING:

Most women were interested in learning more about how to help their children succeed in school and to manage them.

IMPLICATION:

Information on these topics would help both employed and nonemployed feel more secure about their working, and should be included in pretraining and training programs.

7. FINDING:

The nonemployed expected that there would be more negative effects on their children if they were to work than the employed reported as occuring. These included the amount of time they would spend with their children, how highly the children would think of them, how happy the children would feel about themselves, the amount of responsibility the children would take, how well they would do in school, and the quality of their future plans.

IMPLICATION:

Information about the consequences of women's employment should be given to those who are not now employed as part of their job training.

8. FINDING:

There were few differences between the children of the employed and the nonemployed. Those differences which were found tended to favor the employed. Although the employed felt they had less time to spend with their children and talked with them less often, their children did as well in school, participated in more activities, and their families had fewer school dropouts.

IMPLICATION:

In general, the employment of the mother was not detrimental to the children. Since the women who are working have less time to interact with their children, they need help in finding ways to improve the quality of that interaction.

9. FINDING:

When mothers and children talked with each other, the nonemployed talked more about the child's school work while the employed talked more about the mother's activities.

## IMPLICATION:

The employed may be projecting an image of a more outgoing person with interests of her own. They serve as models for their children. Money invested in training the mother and having her work might result in having the children be more effective. On the other hand, employed women may need to spend more time listening to their children.

## C. Summary Findings:
## Health Conditions

10. FINDING:

The nonemployed reported that they were not in as good health as were the employed. They had more serious illnesses, were less satisfied with their health, reported more serious illnesses for their children, and were more likely to cite illness as a reason for quitting work.

## IMPLICATION:

It is difficult to determine from the women's reports whether these physical complains were a reason or a rationalization for not being employed. A study by Dr. Roe and Dr. Latham growing out of this research is checking this dilemma. Reluctance about using medical facilities which were available in the community, as found in the report by Fitchen, suggests that medical services be brought to the people. Use of mobile units would be particularly indicated for isolated rural regions.

11. FINDING:

Twenty-eight percent of the husbands had an illness serious enough to be in bed for at least a week during the last year, and 24% of the husbands were not in the labor force because they were sick or disabled. This sickness and disability of the husband occurred much more often among the welfare.

### IMPLICATION:

The high frequency of husbands' physical illness demands further study to determine the possibility of rehabilitation. The additional income from even part time employment by a husband might be sufficient to help a family move from welfare. Physical status reports should be made regularly to determine whether the men were available for employment, or could be retrained. Even part time work, possibly provided by the state, which was adapted to their physical condition would be a tremendous morale boost to them and to their family.

### 12. FINDING:

The nonemployed had more child health problems than did the employed. Their children had more serious illnesses, the mothers left a job more often because of child care problems, and were absent from work more often because they had to care for a child. A study is now underway to clarify this finding, which from preliminary results indicates that the sickness is real and seems to be related to poverty conditions.

### IMPLICATION:

Sick children must receive adequate care. Women need help so that they do not have to take an older child out of school to care for a sick younger one or stay home from work themselves and run the risk of losing their jobs. The employer should not be deprived of an employee at irregular intervals. Alternatives are:

1. Women should be allowed to use their accumulated sick leave to stay home with a child who is sick.

2. The Department of Labor could train Home Health Care Aides to assist families in emergencies. Homemaker Aides at present function only for more extreme emergencies.

3. Day care centers should accept some responsibility for their enrollees when they become ill. Some examples are: they could compile lists of women who would be available to go to a home or accept a child in their own home; provisions for the training of these women could be arranged for by the day care center in collaboration with the Department of Labor; centers could provide isolation care in their own physical structure or have an alternative location.

## D. Summary Findings: Influence of Work on Marriage

13. FINDING:

The employed women said that the decision for them to work was made more often by them while the nonemployed said the decision was made more often by the husband. The nonemployed anticipated their husbands would feel there were more negative consequences if they were to work than the employed had experienced. The nonemployed thought their husband would feel that the children would suffer more and that he would respect them less if they were to go to work.

IMPLICATION:

Whether the decision about her working was actually made by the husband of the nonemployed women, or whether she attributed the decision to him, was not clear from these data. However, there was ample evidence from the case studies and the "Road Junction" report that many husbands had strong objections to their wives' working. Programs designed to get women into the labor force must take the husbands' attitudes and objections into account. They should be invited to attend some of the adjunct training programs dealing with marriage.

14. FINDING:

There was a lower level of marital satisfaction by the employed and more marital conflict.

IMPLICATION:

There should be individual and group counseling for those couples who desire to discuss the effect of women's employment on the marriage.

15. FINDING:

The employed women perceived their husbands as being less effective and less supportive.

IMPLICATION:

Rehabilitative services and job training should be offered the husbands who are unemployed or disabled. Part time work should be encouraged for those unable to work full time.

16. FINDING:

Many of the employed women with a husband present had husbands who were unemployed or disabled. These employed women got more help from their husbands than did the nonemployed.

IMPLICATION:

These facts suggest that there may be an alternate life style for some of these families, with the women providing financial support with their working while the men did more of the work at home. This life style should be given acceptance. Men should be encouraged and helped to find part time work in tune wiht their disability. If the woman is more able to work than the man, there should be no difference in the program benefits to her and no penalties to him. This practice may be functional for many couples. Social workers should be given training in how to help couples accept the pattern if it is functional for them.

## E. Summary Findings: Care of the Home

17. FINDING:

Some women in every group reported their kitchens were inefficient, low in storage space, had poor floor coverings, and lacked equipment. Their homes in general were deficient in storage. Some women, more often the nonemployed, were living in homes the interviewer rated high in housing problems such as falling plaster, very dirty and unsanitary floors, furniture falling apart, holes in the walls, and smelling of urine.

### IMPLICATION:

Opportunities to live in improved housing could be an incentive for work. Women who were willing to take training and a job could be offered low interest home modernization loans if they owned their home. If they were renters, they could be offered new, more modern apartments after they demonstrated they knew how to care for their own.

18. FINDING:

The employed felt it was less easy for them to take care of their home and wanted more additional time for housework than did the nonemployed.

### IMPLICATION:

Employed women could be offered low interest loans to purchase appliances which would increase their efficiency as homemakers. Home mechanization would be an additional incentive for employment. Part of the training program should include help in being more effective as homemakers. This help should continue after they begin work. Contracts with groups such as the Home Economics Extension Service should be let for complementing this part of the training program.

19. FINDING:

The nonemployed believed in more folklore about the nutritional value of food than did the employed although both groups revealed considerable misinformation.

IMPLICATION:

The Department of Labor should contract with the Department of Agriculture, which has a nutrition information program for economically poor women, to have them provide this information during job training.

20. FINDING:

Although employed women received a little more help from their children and from their husband, if they had one, they felt guilty about the children helping with the housework but felt that the husband should help more than he did.

IMPLICATION:

"Rap" groups should be organized for employed women to allow women to discuss and clarify their attitudes about getting the children to help with care of the home when they are employed.

21. FINDING:

Between 50% and 75% of the women said they would sign up for classes on homemaking, sewing, cooking, and money management. They were willing to take an active part in contributing to the planning and execution of the programs in their area of interest by teaching a lesson after they had been taught, being a teacher's aide, promoting the programs, and being a hostess.

## IMPLICATION:

The Department of Labor should contract for the preparation and pretesting of materials on the above topics to be used nationally. These materials should be provided both before and during the time women are receiving job skill training.

## 22. FINDING:

The following factors were found to be associated with effectiveness of the homemaker:

1. Women who report eating a good diet themselves or who actually change when given new information.

2. Women who are able to keep the inside of their home in an orderly manner.

3. Women who are able to mobilize their families to help with the care of the home.

4. Women who think they are more interested than the average in learning new things.

5. Women who have a good start on their education, (high school graduation if possible, but women with 9 to 11 years should not be eliminated) and who are interested in taking more training.

6. Women who are more effective people as evidenced by a higher rating of self esteem and more active participation in the community.

7. Women who are relieved of the extra work of a preschool child.

### IMPLICATION:

These criteria might be used for the selection and training of homemaker aides who would help other women be more effective homemakers.

## F. Summary Findings: Influence of Work on Women's Self Attitudes

### 23. FINDING:

The employed, more than the nonemployed, perceived themselves as being more instrumental: more efficient, more ambitious and better at organizing others. There was no difference between the two groups in their self perception of being expressive: affectionate, cautious, patient, being more of a listener than a talker, and being good at smoothing things over.

### IMPLICATION:

Women did not appear to lose their femininity by going to work. Women, and perhaps the husbands, need this information to be able to discuss their fears about the effects of working on themselves and their marriage.

### 24. FINDING:

The employed women had a more positive self concept than did the nonemployed. This was evidenced by their having a higher level of self esteem, being more effective but not less feminine, having fewer "second sex" attitudes, participating more in the community, having a more inner-directed locus of control, and having a greater feeling of satisfaction with themselves as a person, with their health and with their financial situation. The nonemployed had a greater degree of satisfaction from their housework and with their activities in the church.

IMPLICATION:

Although employment does not necessarily result in women's leaving welfare, it does appear to be associated with a higher level of self esteem, which may be rewarding in its own right. It may help the next generation if the mother feels good about herself.

25. FINDING:

Positive self assessment tended to be associated with having a husband, being formerly welfare, and being employed. On some of the variables there was no difference for the two marital groups of employed.

IMPLICATION:

Happiness is found in work, money, and a man. Sometimes a job is a substitute for a man.

## G. Summary Findings
## Employment History and Experience

26. FINDING:

The welfare employed women earned an average of $2517 per year, while the ex-welfare employed earned an average of $3145 per year. Three quarters of the welfare women and about half of the ex-welfare women earned less than $3000 per year.

IMPLICATION:

The amount of money women earned by their own efforts was inadequate to support the average sized family of over 5 persons. Alternatives for increasing women's income are: higher income through their own earnings resulting from either upgrading of skills or increasing the minimum wage; higher income through supplement by welfare or husband; fewer children and smaller families to increase the per capita income. The basic pay for full time employed women should be high enough to help them off welfare.

27. FINDING:

The presently welfare employed had begun working about the same time in their lives as had the formerly welfare employed and were working as many hours per week but their rate of pay was lower. This group has a high commitment to employment as a way of life and is ambitious to get ahead.

IMPLICATION:

Training programs by the Department of Labor should focus on this group as good prospects for additional skill training and subsequent job upgrading. Departments of social services, these welfare employed women themselves, and the non-employed welfare women should be shown that career ladders are distinct possibilities and that certain kinds of training can bring them within reach.

28. FINDING:

Salary was the highest source of motivation to work but was below average as a source of satisfaction; i.e. they wanted to work in order to earn money but did not end up with enough to get a great deal of satisfaction from it. Getting respect for working was a high source of satisfaction.

IMPLICATION:

Increased pay would increase satisfaction. If higher wages could not be obtained, a way to increase take home pay would be to stop Social Security deductions for salaries below a poverty level. "Getting respect" was a high motivator, and letting women keep this additional amount would let them feel that society respected them for their attempts to earn their own way. If increasing salary is impossible, other incentives for working might be offered including low cost loans for home purchase, home modernization or mechanization, or loans for cur purchase.

### 29. FINDING:

Over 40% of the women reported being absent from work more than five days in the past year. Most of the reasons for leaving the last job and for not returning to work were related to home, personal, and child care problems more than they were related to job problems.

### IMPLICATION:

If a woman employee begins to be late or does not appear for work, supportive services should be made available to her including auxiliary help for care of a sick child, help with care of the home, information about counseling services and other services normally available to women entering employment through WIN. The Department of Labor should contract for these services for women going directly from welfare into employment.

### 30. FINDING:

Women who were not working had husbands, friends and relatives who encouraged them to stay home.

### IMPLICATION:

This encouragement makes it possible for the women to remain at home without guilt even though financial and other considerations might make employment seem preferable. Offering programs without helping a woman deal with the attitudes of the significant people in their lives will not be as likely to succeed. Husbands, especially, should be encouraged to come to some of the special training programs organized for women. His anticipations could be discussed openly. In the study, it was found that women thought their husbands were concerned that their wives might become too independent, might meet other men, would neglect the children and the home. The training program should include helping her deal effectively with these problems at home.

## H. Summary Fingings: Family Background

31. FINDING:

The nonemployed had significantly more children than the employed, and the husband-present had significantly more children than the families with the husband absent. Among the husband-present, those who were employed had fewer children than those not employed. The two extreme groups differed by nearly two children: the employed formerly welfare, husband-absent had an average of 2.76 children, while the nonemployed, welfare, husband-present had an average of 4.86 children.

IMPLICATION:

The two life styles represented by the two extreme groups, welfare and a large family on the one hand, and off welfare with a small family on the other, may not have resulted from a free choice. In order to maximize young women's options, family planning services must be available to economically poor women. The Department of Labor should contract for having this service provided if not readily available. Job training programs should include information about contraceptive practices. Wherever state laws permit abortion, the Department of Labor should be an advocate to make sure that abortions are available to economically poor women under Medicaid.

32. FINDING:

If a woman was on welfare at the time of the study, her chances were about 1 1/2 : 1 that she had no husband, but if she was formerly on welfare, whether employed or not, the odds were about 3 : 1 that she was married.

IMPLICATION:

The barriers to remarriage of the welfare woman which now exist should be eliminated. At present, if a man wants to marry a woman who is receiving welfare, he must support her children even if he is not the father. If a new husband's income is not sufficient to provide for a woman and her children who were previously supported by welfare, welfare should continue to supplement the new family until the man's income is sufficient. In other words, welfare should not in all cases be cut off as soon as a woman remarries.

33. FINDING:

Whether or not a woman had a father who lived at home, whether he was employed or not, and whether or not her parent's marriage was a happy one did not predict her current welfare status or employment status.

IMPLICATION:

For these women, their father was apparently not a significant model influencing employment.

34. FINDING:

More of the employed than the nonemployed had mothers who had worked and were better educated. Their teenager was more apt to be working at a part time job, and they were more sure he would graduate from high school. There were fewer school drop outs in their families.

### IMPLICATION:

Money and effort spent on keeping young girls in school now will pay off in future gains to society in more productive women and in better trained children in the future. The deleterious effect of undereducation and too early marriage have been well documented. In order to increase school holding power, it might be suggested that potential girl drop outs be encouraged to sign up for work study programs where they would work half day in a day care center or in another occupation. A program of this sort would achieve three vital ends: the girls would be held in school longer, needed manpower for day care centers would be provided, and girls would be learning the requirements for good child care.

Girls should also be given contraceptive information before they need it. Most girls today get a chance to participate in this type of program only after they are pregnant.

### 35. FINDING:

Women who worked when their children were young were more likely to work when their children were older.

### IMPLICATION:

In order to avoid skill erosion, special incentives should be offered for part time work when the children are young. This period of a woman's life could be used for job training, but also could be used to teach women to manage the dual functions of homemaker and employee.

## I. Summary Findings:
## Job Finding and Training, and Transportation

### 36. FINDING:

Friends and relatives were used as often as the State Employment Service as job finding resources, but the friends and relatives were more effective as a means of finding a job.

IMPLICATION:

This finding reinforces the recommendations made by Opton (1971)*, that an incentive system might be instituted for job finding by persons in the informal network. The Employment Service might study further how this system works and apply some of these informal techniques. One alternative would be to hire these effective job finders as paraprofessionals.

37. FINDING:

Applying in person was the job finding method most often used by both the employed and the nonemployed. The employed found this method more effective.

IMPLICATION:

Techniques found effective by the employed in getting a job when applying directly should be taught to the nonemployed.

38. FINDING:

Although the employed had more interest in and plans for training in the future and were willing to put forth a good deal of effort to receive this training, over 70% of the nonemployed indicated an interest in further training and 25% of them said they would willingly study at night, go to a school and also pay part of the cost of job training.

IMPLICATION:

There is an untapped reservoir of interest in job training which would result in employment or increased income.

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* Opton, Edward M. "Factors Associated with Employment Among Welfare Mothers." Report to Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Contract N. 51-05-69-04, 1971.

39. FINDING:

Only 14% of the women reported that the training they had received in school had helped them get a job. More of the employed reported receiving training in the last five years and attended some classes since leaving high school. The employed had taken OJT, MDTA, and other state and federal programs more often, while the nonemployed had obtained their training in local public schools or in private fee-charging schools.

IMPLICATION:

Public schools were apparently not preparing women for the work world. The Department of Labor should provide an advocate function for job related education and if not available through the schools should provide it during and after high school. Women should have the option of being able to get a good job later in life by having received training during high school and by having this skill protected from erosion.

40. FINDING:

The women used a variety of resources to help them with problems and tended to call on friends and relatives for help rather than persons connected with formal organizations. Some ex-welfare women without a husband continued to call on their welfare worker.

IMPLICATION:

The characteristics of those professionals voluntarily chosen for counsel should be studied as a basis for selection of both professionals and paraprofessionals to work with the economically poor.

41. FINDING:

The most frequent way women got to work was by car but this mode was used much more often by the employed. Many of the nonemployed did not know how to drive and maintain a car. Their cars were frequently unreliable.

IMPLICATION:

Driver training should be provided as part of job training. Information should also include car maintenance, car repair, and consumer education about car purchase.

## 42. AN OVERALL RECOMMENDATION ABOUT TRAINING:

### Adjunct Training for Women Workers

This report has focused on the relationship between the occupational and family systems for economically poor women. Women have not rejected their traditional functions as homemakers, mothers, and wives whether employed or not. Disturbances in the family have had a significant impact on the women's interest and ability to be an employee, while their employment has had direct repercussions on their home functioning, as summarized at the beginning of this chapter.

Throughout the report, implications have included the statement that findings from the research should be included in a job training program for women. It has been suggested that written materials and discussion outlines should be contracted for and then be available for national use. An effective adjunct program should serve to minimize the attrition of women workers because of home related problems and to lessen the negative effects of employment on their home and family.

Drawing on the findings of this research, the following is a suggested outline of topics to be included in an adjunct program to accompany job skill training for women.

## Suggested Course Outline

I. Benefits a woman can expect when she becomes employed.
    A. Increased respect from children.
    B. Greater life satisfactions.
    C. No loss in femininity but greater self esteem.
    D. More money than the nonemployed think they will earn.
    E. More money for better food.
    F. More money for new clothes as opposed to second hand.
    G. More pleasure in appearance.

II. Areas where nonemployed women expected more negative effect than employed women found.
    A. Little change in children's school work and behavior.
    B. Little change in buying and shopping for food
    C. Children's behavior was no more affected if the mother went to work in families with no father.

III. Areas where employed women did find problems.
    A. Time for children and husband was less
    B. Husbands did not get as much attention.
    C. Housework was more difficult to get done.
    D. Day care was a problem for some.

IV. Unit on husbands.
    A. Objections husbands have to their wife working.
    B. Ways to minimize problems and enhance satisfactions.
    C. How to encourage husbands to help on housework.
    D. Special problems of role reversal when women work.

V. Unit on children.
    A. How to help children with their school work.
    B. How to get children to help more around the house in ways which will make them more responsible, and make the mother feel less guilty about asking them to help.
    C. How to teach children about realistic dangers so mothers will not have to worry as much about them.

VI. Unit on day care for children.
  A. What you should look for; importance of cognitive growth and stimulation for a child.
  B. What facilities are available for both preschool and school age children.
  C. Finding ways to increase the supply of adequate care.

VII. How to simplify housework.
  A. How to make and use storage.
  B. How to make a kitchen more efficient.
  C. How to save time on cooking.
  D. Relative time saving potential of various appliances.

VIII. How to buy and cook food which will make your family healthy.

IX. How to make use of health services and keep the family healthy.

X. Family planning.
  A. Contraceptives.
  B. Abortion.
  C. Sterilization.

XI. How to increase the quality of family life.
  A. Make housework and cooking a time for working together.
  B. What kinds of recreation can be done by the family together to increase the respect of each for the other.

XII. How to make use of resources in the community.
  A. Where to turn for special problems.
  B. Where to get information.

XIII. How to get to work.
  A. Driver training.
  B. Car maintenance.
  C. Formation of car pools.

## Suggestions for Implementation of Adjunct Course

I. Materials development.

  A. Materials should be written by experts with the collaboration of a panel of poor women to ensure practicality.

  B. Reading level should be low and illustrations should be clear and humorous.

II. Life stages when materials should be used.

  A. Girls of 9th grade who are potential drop outs.

  B. Young married women who are subject to skill erosion and decline of self confidence.

  C. Older women at time of reentry into training of labor force participation.

III. Location of training.

  A. At schools for school age girls.

  B. In the neighborhood, store front, or homes for the young married women.

  C. At job training centers for those attending.

IV. Suggested format for reaching the at-home nonemployed:

  Certain lessons, especially those concerned with storage, kitchens, and shopping, could be taught very well by indigenous leaders. Local groups could send one member to a central training center where she would learn the lesson and then return to the group and be the teacher. This procedure has the advantages of economy, involvement of members, and greater opportunity for growth for those who participate in a leadership role.

## Suggestions for Training of Teaching Personnel

There is a need for the training of professionals and paraprofessionals who can deal with the personal, home, and employment problems of women. Their training should be cross-disciplinary and include courses from economics, labor relations, home economics, sociology, and psychology. There should be a close tie between the cognitive and experiential elements of learning so that the ideas from the classroom will be tested in the field and field experiences will suggest new concepts. During the student's training she should have field work experience at several different levels.

The Department of Labor should contract with several universities for the initiation of these programs and should give preference to hiring those who have graduated.

# CHAPTER I

## STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

> Only a few women who work part of the year said the main reason that they did not work more was inability to find a job; most were kept at home by family responsibilities. *

The above statement does not deny the overriding importance of job availability, but emphasizes the significance of the home when considering the employment of women.

The ADC program was originally devised to keep the family of the husband-absent, economically poor mother intact by having the State provide her with a minimum income. With this income she could stay home, care for the children and not have to go out of the home to work. The present trend is to encourage or insist on her working. The primary research question of this study was to explore the effects of the mother's working on her self, her family and the care of her home. There has been widespread speculation about these effects, but very little reliable evidence.

The characteristics of those mothers who have achieved some success with employment, as compared to those who have not, allowed us to view these groups differently in terms of the impact of employment on the family. The results provided important information about the effects of employment on the mother and her family: the children's attitude towards her work, its effect on their educational achievement, and the mother's attitude about herself.

Comparisons of one and two-parent families provided useful information about the influence of the father on the home. The effect of father's absence on children and mothers has been a source of controversy. The nature of the problems as well

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* "Manpower Report of the President," March, 1970, P. 121.

as the positive effects needed to be more clearly delineated in terms of their influence on the employment of the wife. For example, a husband might be a source of emotional support for a working mother or a source of frustration. A husband's attitude toward a working wife was of special emphasis in the study.

Presently and formerly welfare employed mothers were compared in order to provide information about the differences between these groups of women. At one extreme were those not employed and receiving welfare, and at the other, those working and not depending on welfare. The characteristics of these different groups of mothers will be useful to program planners and to the women who want to obtain economic independence.

All of the families studied had at least one teenage child. This allowed us to concentrate on those mothers who had the highest potential for employment, had a chance to establish a pattern of employment, and had families grown enough to show the effects of employment or nonemployment. The women had families with and without preschool children. It was possible to study the kinds of child care arrangements made by those women who worked and had preschool children as well as to study barriers to employment in those families with no preschool children.

Much research attention has been focused on this nation's metropolitan centers, the primary locus of poverty. Yet, according to the President's National Advisory Committee on Rural Poverty, there are 13.5 million poor people living in metropolitan areas and 20.2 million living in non-metropolitan areas. Although the definition of rurban is a city of 100,000 or less, most of the women of our sample lived in communities which were significantly smaller. In many ways, rurban centers can be seen as the communities of the future - the "halfway houses" for persons on their way to and from rural and urban centers. This study was concerned only with rurban areas so that the geographical and social settings were homogeneous

In his paper, "On the Utilization of the Behavioral Sciences and Manpower Research," William F. Whyte notes that the methods of research traditionally utilized by the various behavioral science fields should be considered as complementary rather than competitive. Yet, he says, this rarely happens in the United States.

This research project has met this objection by supplementing the traditional questionnaire approach of survey research with both case studies of individual women and their families and an anthropological study of a rural pocket of poverty in America. The structured precoded questionnaire made it possible to have comparable data of a large sample in order to make statistical comparisons. The intensive case studies allowed us to get a more intimate view of a family's functioning with mothers of four different work patterns. An anthropologist's view of a group of families made it possible to examine not only individual families but also their relationships with each other and with the larger community. These three methods enriched our findings and gave us complementary kinds of data.

The sample was studied twice over a one year period in order to accomplish two purposes: to elaborate the findings of the original questionnaire and to clarify the cause and effect dilemma of a cross-sectional study. Studying the same women before and after they had been exposed to a change in employment status and comparing them to those who had not changed over the same period of time, enabled us to attribute causes to the effects noted. The major limitation of this part of the study was the short period of time the subjects were in the new employment status - at most a year.

Social scientists at universities tend to put their major efforts into the acquisition of knowledge as it may contribute to theory or to the general fund of knowledge. This study was undertaken not only to extend the boundaries of knowledge, but even more importantly to focus research efforts on a problem of social significance that will be of value to social planners.

According to the research contract, special provisions clause number 1, "Statement of Work," the main objectives of the large scale questionnaire portion of the study are as follows:

1. To contribute to an understanding of the impact that employment has on the welfare mother and her family;

2. To differentiate that impact according to the presence or absence of a husband in the house, the mother's economic dependency status, and her current work status; and

3. To provide recommendations for improving the effectiveness of the WIN program and to develop guidelines for future WIN projects.

More specifically:

1. Using an interdisciplinary technique to investigate the consequences of the welfare mother's employment on various areas of family life, including:
    a. the operation of her home
    b. the care of her children
    c. the mobilization of community resources
    d. her self-perception

2. Compare families in similar economic and employment statuses that have and do not have a husband present, and also those where the mother is employed and not employed.

3. Focus on only rurban areas (city with population under 100,000 and surrounding areas that depend on that city) so that the geographical and social settings re-

main constant.

4. Utilize the results obtained so as to compare those who have previously been on welfare with those still on welfare to obtain an understanding of the influence of a transfer from ADC to independent employment; to compare families in comparable economic and employment statuses that have and do not have a husband present to provide information about the influence of the father on the home and children; and to compare families in the same economic circumstances and with the same family structures when the mother is employed and when she is not employed to provide data on the differences between them and the nature of the support that will be needed by each group.

5. Utilize an interview instrument developed and pretested prior to this research study, and incorporate additional scales as necessary into the interview battery so that the following types of information are obtained:

Sociological aspects, including a series of demographic and community variables, such as age, education, use of community resources,attitudes towards education, work history, type of work, and hours of work.

Household management and consumer economics variables covering such areas as care and maintenance of the home, food preparation, nutrition, home management, clothing care, purchasing practices, knowledge of consumer resources, household budgeting, attitudes about housekeeping in independent employment. Human development aspects dealing with attitudes mothers have towards their children, child care arrangements, child rearing practices, areas of conflict between mother and child, mothers' self-concepts, and children's attitudes towards work.

# CHAPTER II

# PROCEDURE

## P1 Criteria for Selecting Sample

### P1.1 The Three Main Effects

The main focus of the study was to discover the effects of employment of the mother on the family, differentiated by welfare and marital status. Employment of the mother was defined as working outside of the home for pay during the week she was interviewed. In the description of the sample it will be noted that the average number of hours worked was 35; few women worked under 20 hours per week.

There were two welfare statuses, presently welfare and formerly welfare. Those presently on welfare were receiving assistance or Aid to Dependent Children, including AFDC. Those formerly on welfare had previously received welfare but had not been receiving assistance for the last six to 36 months.

All the women who indicated that there was no husband present were categorized as husband-absent women.

Both active and closed welfare cases were divided into cells as follows: 1. nonemployed, husband-absent; 2. nonemployed, husband-present; 3. employed, husband-absent; 4. employed, husband-present.

### P1.2 Life Cycle Control

In order to have the stage of the family life cycle constant for the total sample, the women were selected upon the basis that they had a teenage child. This selection criterion had the advantage of choosing women old enough to have already established a work pattern and to have at least one child old enough to have established hir (a bisexual term) social and academic pattern. There was some variability in the age of the women, number of children in the family and age of youngest child.

Women were selected who had both a de jure and a de facto relationship to a child 12 to 19 years of age. The de jure requirement ruled out temporary relationships such as being a foster mother or being a relative acting in a substitute relationship for a short period. It did not rule out stepmothers or mothers of adopted children. The de facto requirement eliminated those cases where a teenage child was in a foster home, a correctional institution or for some other reason not living in the mother's home.

### P1.3 Geographic Area

The contract stipulated that the study was to be carried out in New York State in rurban areas. This was interpreted to mean that cities under 100,000 population and the small towns and rural areas dependent on these cities be included. The assumption was that the area would not be continuously rural or urban. For administrative reasons the central offices were located at Cornell University in Ithaca. For efficient administration it was desirable that the respondents be selected from areas within a reasonable distance from Ithaca and be a contiguous set of counties.

## P2 Cooperation with the State and Local Departments of Social Services

The project was fortunate in having the close cooperation of the State Department of Social Services. This was useful in many ways such as in the selection of the geographic areas to be used, establishing good working relationships with the commissioners and their staff and in various details of administration. Plans for the study were checked with Dr. Harry Posman, Director of Research. The State Commissioner, Mr. George K. Wyman, was given a personal briefing while attending an institute in Ithaca. The Director of Area Three, Mr. Walter Driscoll, was most helpful in suggesting counties to be included and in securing the cooperation of the commissioners within the district. He arranged a meeting in his office with representatives from the research project staff and the county welfare commissioners or their deputies. Mr. Lawrence Olnick, Director of Area Four, gave support to the study through correspondence with his local commissioners.

## P3 Selection of the Sample

### P3.1 The Area Studied

In New York's Southern Tier counties, there are three population centers, Binghamton to the east, Elmira to the west, and Ithaca in the middle and somewhat to the north. Within a radius of approximately fifty miles from Ithaca are the following counties: Tompkins, Chemung, Schuyler, Seneca, Cortland, Broom, Chenango, and Tioga, the southern part of Cayuga County, the eastern part of Steuben, and the western end of Onondaga County. Three counties were eliminated: Chenango, which was too inaccessible from Ithaca, and Schuyler and Tioga which had too small case loads.

In most of New York State, welfare jurisdictions are co-terminus with the county, but this was not true in Broome and Cayuga Counties. In Broome County there are three welfare jurisdictions: the City of Binghamton, the Town of Union, and Broome County. Cayuga County has the city of Auburn and Cayuga County. This made a total of eleven welfare districts from which the original sample was drawn. Oneida County was added in January 1970 to increase the number of welfare working mothers.

## P3.2 Identification of the Population

The first step was to identify the actual cases which met the criteria for the study in each welfare jurisdiction. Each jurisdiction was responsible for sending to the project office a list of all eligible cases from which the sample was drawn by the project staff. These lists were submitted on specially prepared forms which asked for the minimal data necessary for identifying the cases. The welfare officials were assured that strict confidentiality would be observed and that identifying data would be released only to responsible persons in need of such data for research purposes. There were no names on any of the questionnaires.

## P 3.3 Sampling Procedures for the Presently Welfare

When the lists arrived it soon became obvious that the pattern of distribution among the four cells was irregular and that it would be difficult to have a sufficient number of employed welfare mothers adequate for statistical comparisons. The largest was cell 1: nonemployed, husband-absent women. For this cell every third case was sampled. For cell 2: nonemployed, husband-present, every other case was sampled. For the other two cells, the employed, husband-absent and employed husband-present, all available cases were used. The welfare jurisdictions were asked if there were more cases in these cells after a four month time interval but the number was still not large enough.

The only practical way of increasing the size of the sample of employed women on welfare was to add another county. Oneida County was selected for several reasons: it falls in the "rurban" designation since Utica has a population less than 100,000; there is considerable light industry which provides employment for women; work training and incentive programs have been in operation for several years; and it is located near the other counties. Initial contact was made with the Oneida Department of Social Services in December 1969 and a field supervisor was hired in February 1970.

### P3.4 Sampling Procedures for the Formerly Welfare

The entire population of formerly welfare cases were included. The Social Service Department sent us the list of all cases closed from six months to three years which had a teenage child.

For the formerly welfare group two cells were added. In the original proposal the ex-welfare women were to be only those who were working, but as there was no way of determining work status before the actual interview took place and the data gathered would round out the analysis, it was decided in consultation with O.M.R. to add two cells of nonemployed, formerly welfare women: husband-absent and husband-present.

## P4 Staffing

### P4.1 The Director of Field Work

The original Director of Field Work, Mrs. Frances Hall, was a social worker experienced in research with agencies in the area included in this project. Having a master's degree in social work and being known to many of the social workers in the area helped in establishing rapport with the Social Service Departments. Mrs. Virginia Mitchell completed the task when Mrs. Hall went on sabbatic leave with her husband.

### P 42 Field Supervisors

A decentralized system of working in the field was set up. In this way, interviewers could be supervised by persons with greater knowledge of the local areas and there could be close contact between the field supervisors and the interviewers. Five field offices were established, each with a local field supervisor. These were located in Ithaca, Elmira, Binghamton, Syracuse and Auburn. The Director of Field Work took over the function of field supervisor for the Ithaca area. The Ithaca office supervised Tompkins and Cortland counties; Elmira covered Chemung and Steuben; Binghamton covered Broome County; Auburn covered Cayuga and Seneca counties; and Syracuse covered Onondaga County. The duties of the field supervisors were as follows:

1. To recruit and train interviewers.
2. To receive from the Director of Field Work the lists of respondents and to make assignments to the interviewers.
3. To check all completed questionnaires, forward them to the project office and to furnish interviewers with "feedback" from the project office on questionnaires improperly filled out.
4. To furnish the project office with reports on all cases received and to account for those for which no questionnaires were returned.
5. To act as a liaison with the welfare offices in the area.

### P4.3 Staff Training

Several one-day training sessions were given at Cornell for both supervisors and interviewers. The main focus of the training was to acquaint them with the questionnaire and the interview procedures. Some time was also devoted to general aspects of interviewing and to administrative details. Continuous in-service training was maintained through conferences between the field workers and their supervisors as well as by feedback from the main office based on a careful checking of the interview protocols.

## P5 Data Gathering

### P5.1 Initial Letter

Each respondent was sent a letter from the Project Director which furnished her with information about the study and asked for her cooperation (see Appendix). The letter included a slip giving an appointment time and a local telephone number to call if a change of time was necessary. Appointments were set sufficiently far in advance so that letters could be forwarded to new addresses and women could have the opportunity to reschedule appointments if necessary. A follow-up phone call was made confirming the appointment.

## P5 .2 The Interview

The interviews took place in the respondent's home. Most mothers and interviewers coped with the everyday disturbances with a good deal of equanimity. The interviewers were usually offered some refreshment and there was a good deal of friendly feeling. The interviewee was given a copy of the questionnaire to follow while the interviewer read each question. An attempt was made to focus the interviewee's attention on the questionnaire and to minimize the interviewer effect. Success in the interviews was evidenced by the high rate of return for the panel study, the low rate of refusals and the small number of interviewer errors. The interview usually took one to one and a half hours to complete. Unless there was some emergency situation the questionnaire was completed in one session and the respondent was given a check for $3.50 and a thank-you note for her cooperation. The respondent signed a receipt for the check which then became part of the financial records of the project. Interviewers were responsible for checking and editing their questionnaires before returning them to the supervisor.

## P5.3 Locating Cases that had Moved or were Difficult to Find

Addresses in rural areas are frequently non-specific; for example, there may only be a R.D. number. New numbering systems were instituted in some rural areas, causing a change in address for a party which had not moved. Sometimes a R.D. route is associated with one town but actually located very close to another. It was often possible to locate the family by personally contacting the local postman.

In the case of respondents who had moved, interviewers were instructed to check with every possible source of information to locate these respondents. Sources were neighbors, relatives, landlords, schools and post offices. If a woman was not available on the first visit, interviewers were told to call back at least twice, preferably on a weekend or evening, before reporting the respondent as unavailable.

### P5.4 Other Problems of Data Collection

There were instances of respondents who failed to keep appointments and made it necessary for interviewers to make several call-backs. A high degree of mobility was probably the greatest single problem that interviewers had to face. In Elmira a large number of units of lower-income housing were torn down at the interview time without provision for rehousing the tenants. The result was that sometimes even the Department of Social Services had no way of knowing where the subjects were.

The aim was to complete all the interviewing before the onset of winter but this was not possible. Some interviewers had great difficulty in reaching people on isolated country roads when the driving conditions were hazardous. Data gathering was also delayed by the Christmas holiday season. In spite of these problems, it is to the credit of the field work staff that there was such a high response rate.

## P6 Response Rate

### P6.1 Presently Welfare

Table P6.1 shows the number of cases in the population from which we drew the sample and the final disposition of the presently welfare cases.

Table P6.1

Proportion of Returns for Presently Welfare Cases

| | |
|---|---|
| Sample | 1029 |
| Not available | 228 |
| Available | 801 |
| Refused | 98 |
| Refusal rate | 11% |
| Interviewed | 703 |
| Interview rate | 89% |

The return rate of those available for study was very high (89%) with only 11% refusing.

The term "not available" includes all those who were unable to be interviewed because they were too ill, had moved away from the area, were unable to be located at home after three visits, or did not meet the sampling criteria. One of the special problems was that a mother would no longer be on welfare at the time of the interview, yet had not met the requirement of having been off welfare for at least six months. A large number of cases not available (72) came from one welfare jurisdiction which had a policy of clearing with its clients rather than having the research group contact them directly. We were unable to get more specific information about the reason for the non-availability of these subjects. We would not recommend the use of this procedure again. All the subjects in the study had the free choice of participation or not. One was much more likely to take part if asked by the research group.

Table P6.1a

Distribution of Nonavailable Cases for the Presently Welfare

| | |
|---|---|
| Moved | 45 |
| Ineligible | 34 |
| Withdrawn by one county | 72 |
| Unable to find after 3 visits | 44 |
| Unable to fill out (ill or non-English speaking) | 19 |
| Other | 14 |
| Total | 228 |

If those who were withdrawn by the one county be included in the refusal rate, it would increase from 11 to 18%, with the return rate becoming 82%, a good rate for personal interviews.

## P6.2 Formerly Welfare

The response rate for the formerly welfare was lower than for the presently welfare but was still quite adequate (68%). The combined response rate for both the presently and the formerly welfare was 79%.

Table P6.2

Response Rate for Formerly Welfare Subjects

| | |
|---|---|
| Sample | 1045 |
| Number not available | 465 |
| Number available | 580 |
| Number refused | 188 |
| Percent refused | 32% |
| Number interviewed | 392 |
| Percent interviewed | 68% |

The major problem was locating these women formerly on welfare. The Departmen of Social Services' records were outdated from six to thirty months. Many had either moved out of the area of study or left no forwarding address. Special efforts were made to locate these subjects including a special search procedure by the post offices. This method helped to locate some of the subjects.

Table P6.2a

Distribution of Nonavailable Cases for the Formerly Welfare

| | |
|---|---|
| Moved | 294 |
| Ineligible | 89 |
| Not located after 3 visits | 63 |
| Other | 19 |
| Total | 465 |

### P7 Reconstituting the Sample

In the lists received from the welfare offices of women with teenagers, 63% of the nonemployed welfare women were husband-absent and 37% were husband-present (1111:656). The sample was reconstituted to represent this ratio (428:256). All other cells consist of the actual number of cases available. Table P7 shows the distribution of our sample of 1325 cases among the eight cells.

### Table P7

Number of Cases in the Sample by each of the 8 cells

| Cell Number | Group | N |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Welfare, woman nonemployed, husband-absent | 428 |
| 2 | Welfare, woman nonemployed, husband-present | 256 |
| 3 | Welfare, woman employed, husband-absent | 163 |
| 4 | Welfare, woman employed, husband-present | 86 |
| 5 | Formerly welfare, woman nonemployed, husband-absent | 35 |
| 6 | Formerly welfare, woman nonemployed, husband-present | 173 |
| 7 | Formerly welfare, woman employed, husband-absent | 67 |
| 8 | Formerly welfare, woman employed, husband-present | 117 |
|  | Total | 1325 |

All the cells had over 100 cases except for three that would be expected to be smaller in population: cell 4, presently welfare, woman employed and married; cell 5, formerly welfare, woman nonemployed and not married; and cell 7, formerly welfare, woman employed and not married. In the case of cell 4, since the woman was married and working and still on welfare it seems likely that she either had a large family, her husband was disabled, or her husband was not providing sufficient support. The women in cell 5, living without a husband, no job, and not receiving welfare payments, had some other means of support that enabled them to go off welfare. Their sources of support might be some kind of pension, including O.A.S., or occasionally a man present in the house. A most interesting group is cell 3, women who were on welfare and working with no husband present. The fact that these women were still on welfare indicates that it is not easy for a mother to get off welfare through her own efforts.

## P8 Panel Study

The data gathering method for the panel study was a pretested mail-back questionnaire. The letter accompanying the questionnaire stated that instead of paying an interviewer to call on them, they could get the money by carefully filling it out and returning it within a week. Two methods of payment were used. One half were paid at the time they received the material and one half when they returned it. The methodological questions involved were whether the poor could be trusted or whether they would respond positively to being trusted. Would they be able to delay gratification long enough and would they trust any impersonal other by first sending it in and then waiting? There were no significant differences between the two methods in the rate of return with the preferences if any favoring those who were paid in advance (91% vs. 85%).

There were two data collection periods for the panel study with the second part being longer (22 vs. 13 pages). The return rate continued to be very high for both sets. The table below presents the overall returns for the panel study.

Table P8

Table of Returns for Mail Back Panel Study

| | |
|---|---|
| Number sent out | 1095 |
| Unable to locate | 78 |
| Number located | 1017 |
| Per cent located | 93 |
| Number returned | 895* |
| Per cent returned | 88 |

* includes six refusals

## P9 Plans for Presentation

After presenting data about demography and the woman as an employee, the report centers on the relationship of employment and the woman's functioning in the home as homemaker, mother and wife. The report then describes how her attitudes about herself as a person are related to employment, and finally indicates the relationship between employment and the use of community resources. The data are summarized by means of a set of multiple regressions for those variables for which there were statistically significant differences between the two employment groups. Implications of the findings for employed women are noted throughout the report as well as summarized at the end.

The tables in the body of the report are basically of two types. The first presents the overall level of responses and the differences between the employed and the nonemployed. The second type presents the interactions between marital and welfare status with employment status. Special effort has been made to make the tables straightforward and readable.

The identification code of any part of the report serves several interlocking purposes. The same number refers to the outline of the report, table number in the body of the report, and the table number in the Appendix where the complete data about the individual items are located. The letter refers to the section of the report: for example, D = Demography; D.1 is the first heading under demography, and D1.1 is the first subheading. If another subdivision were necessary, it would read D1.11. If there were two tables in D1.1, the second would be D1.1a. The standard notations are used to designate statistical significance in the body of the report (* $\leq$ .05, ** $\leq$ .01).

Tables in the report are not numbered continuously since each table is numbered according to the section of the report in which the data are discussed. If there is no table in the body of the report there may be one of that number in the Appendix. Tables in the Appendix give the exact wording of the questions and categories of responses, the percentages of responses and N for each of the eight cells as well as the total. Chi squares and p values are given for the eight cells. On the same table, means, F value, and p value are given for each of the main effects and interactions.

# CHAPTER III

# DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES AND EMPLOYMENT

The purpose of this section is to describe the sample in terms of the standard demographic variables and to point out the relationship between these demographic factors and the employment of women. Interactions of welfare and marital status will be discussed as they differentiate the demographic variables regarding women's employment. These demographic factors are important to the understanding of why some women become gainfully employed. Some of the data have direct implications for social policy.

## D1 Characteristics of the Women

### D1.1 Welfare Status

The final sample was made up of 70% of the cases presently on welfare and 30% formerly on welfare. This proportion is very similar to that proposed in the original research design to OMR, a sample of 66 2/3% presently on welfare. We are more confident in the extent to which the sample represents the population of present welfare clients than of former welfare recipients because of the difficulty of locating the ex-welfare women. The imposed time criterion of six to 36 months off welfare created difficulties, but also was a long enough period of time to assure us that the differences between the welfare and ex-welfare were not due to transitory conditions of the moment.

### D1.2 Marital Status

In the original design it was proposed that there be equal numbers of husband-present and husband-absent families. The present sample came very close to this, with 53% husband-absent and 47% husband-present. The husband-absent families were more likely to be presently on welfare than formerly on welfare (44% vs. 8%).

The welfare women were about one and one half times more likely to have no husband while the former welfare clients were almost three times more likely to be from husband-present families.

Table D1.2

Percent of Cases for the Interaction of Welfare on Marital Status

|  | percent |  |
|---|---|---|
|  | Husband-absent | Husband-present |
| Welfare | 44 | 26 |
| Ex-welfare | 8 | 22 |

$p < .001$

## D1.3 Interaction of Welfare and Marital on Employment Status

A common stereotype is that those women presently on welfare are not employed while the formerly welfare women are, implying that those receiving welfare aid are unwilling or unable to work and that those formerly on welfare consist mostly of employed women. If this were true, one might conclude that employment of the woman is sufficient to have her leave welfare and that there is no need to supplement the income of welfare women now working since employment alone is the solution to their welfare status.

Table D1.3

Percent of Cases for the Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status

|  | percent |  |
|---|---|---|
|  | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | 19 | 52 |
| Ex-welfare | 15 | 15 |

$p < .001$

By far the largest proportion of cases in our sample were the welfare nonemployed women - 52% of the total. The other three groups were about equally represented with the employed welfare being second highest in percent of the total cases. Welfare status had relatively little influence for the employed groups and from these data we could not differentiate from her employment alone whether a woman was or was not currently on welfare. However, if she was unemployed, our best estimate would be that she was receiving welfare. Among the employed women, 54% were receiving welfare and 46% were former welfare clients. Among the nonemployed 73% were receiving welfare and 27% were formerly on welfare. Obtaining a job was not sufficient to assure a woman of getting off welfare. A jobless woman was probably on welfare. The stereotype has some factual support for women not employed but is not supported for employed women.

The next comparison was the effect of marital status on employment.

Table D1.3a

Percent of Cases for the Interaction of
Marital on Employment Status

| | percent | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Husband-absent | 17 | 35 |
| Husband-present | 15 | 32 |

$p <$ n.a.

Marital status did not differentiate either of the two employment status groups. If a woman was employed she was as likely to have a husband as not, and similarly, if she was not employed the likelihood of a husband present or absent was equal. A prediction concerning employment status could not be made from the item of husband presence or absence.

### D1.4 Age

The sample for the present investigation was selected to represent an age cohort of women defined by the presence of a teenage child in the home. This group was selected for various reasons. First, the women as a group would be at the peak time for employment, most of them between 30 and 50 years of age. Second, they would have had time to establish a work and adult life pattern. Third, their family would be sufficiently advanced along the family life cycle so that the effect on the family of the woman's employment could be evaluated. Fourth, the age range would be wide enough so that some mothers would still have preschool children at home while others would not. Mothers of different situations could be compared. The sample is not representative of all poor women in regard to age, but is more definable and generalizable.

The average age of the women was 40.2 years; only 6% were 30 or younger and only 9% over 51. The youngest group was composed of the welfare, employed, husband-absent women (mean = 38.59 years) and the oldest group was the formerly welfare, not employed, husband-absent (mean = 42.60 years).

There were statistically significant differences according to employment and marital status with the nonemployed being slightly older than the employed (means = 40.53 vs. 39.70 years)* and the husband-absent being slightly older than the husband-present women (means = 40.63 vs. 39.86)**.

### D1.5 Education

The overall level of education of the sample was 10.3 years. Twenty-three percent of the sample had eighth grade or less education, 40% from 9 to 11 years, and 35% had a high school education or higher; six per cent of these had some college education. The employed had significantly more education than the nonemployed (means = 10.77 vs. 9.88)*** and the ex-welfare had more education than those presently on welfare (means = 10.70 vs. 9.88)***. The employed, ex-welfare woman's level of education was the highest and the nonemployed, presently on welfare, the lowest (means = 11.01 vs. 9.62). Although these differences are significant, the highest group had about one year of education above the average and the lowest group about one half year below. The two sets with significant differences were on the average one year different in educational level.

### D1.6 Race

The sample was predominantly white as was the rurban region of the study. According to the 1970 census data in the United States and New York State, as a whole, 11% of the population was Black. The rurban counties of our study were 96% White, 3% Black and less than 1% other Nonwhite. In our sample of welfare and formerly welfare, Black women were overrepresented since 11% of the respondents were Black. There was a significant difference for welfare status with the currently welfare being more likely to be Black than the formerly welfare (15% vs. 5%)***. There was no significant differences between the employed and nonemployed groups on the race of the respondents (14% vs. 11%)

### D1.7 Comments About Characteristics of the Women

Although there were two statistically significant differences between groups on the women's age, the means were quite similar with the employed being less than one year older than the nonemployed, and for this sample of women, age of respondent was not a reliable factor in determining employment.

We may conclude that educational level was important in differentiating both the welfare and work groups, but that the differences were not great. A special study of the two deviant groups - those women who are highly-educated among the welfare nonemployed and the low-educated among the formerly welfare, employed would be interesting: Why are some with high education on welfare and not employed, while others with low education are employed and get off welfare?

Most of the generalizations from this study are from a predominantly white sample of economically poor women even though the rate of poverty for Blacks is high. In this sample an economically poor Black woman was as likely to be employed as not.

## D2 Family of Origin

To what extent is the status of a respondent predetermined by her family of origin? Does the employment or education of the respondent's mother determine the respondent's employment? Does having a mother who worked mean that the respondent will not want to work but stay home with her own children, or will her mother's working give her a model of an active mother? To what extent is there a cycle of poverty? Does having a family with an unemployed father, a broken home, and one with a good deal of conflict, predispose the mother to become a welfare, nonemployed person, or does she overcome these earlier handicaps and cope more effectively with her problems? The variables are: stability of the family of origin, father's education, mother's education and employment of the mother.

### D2.1 Stability of Family of Origin

This variable is composed of three items. They are: the extent of unemployment of the father, whether the home was broken by the father's absence and the extent of marital conflict.

In response to the questions: "Was your father ever unemployed during the time you were growing up?" and if yes, "How often was he unemployed?" 25% responded that the father was sometimes or often unemployed. Their response to the question about the amount of time the father lived at home while they were growing up indicated that about the same proportion grew up in homes without a father; 27% reported that he did not live at home all of the time that they were growing up.

In response to the item on how often things were going well between their father and mother, 16% responded hardly ever, and 6% said only sometimes, while an additional 10% reported things going well about half of the time. Sixty-eight percent reported that their parent's marriage was going well for most or practically all of the time.

There were no statistically significant differences between the two employment groups or any interactions with employment for the family of origin. An overall scale was derived by summing each of the three items and recoding them so that the larger the score, the more stable the family of origin. The mean score for the sample was 7.30 out of a possible 10 points. There were no significant differences between any of the groups.

### D2.2 Education of Respondent's Father

The average education of the respondent's father was 7.6 years with no significant differences for any of the effects or interactions. The mean ranged from 7.11 for the welfare, nonemployed, husband-present women, to 8.37 for the ex-welfare, nonemployed, husband-absent group. The two extreme groups were about one half year above and below the mean. It is interesting that from one generation to another, there has been an increase in education of about three years.

### D2.3 Education of Respondent's Mother

Sixty percent of the respondents' mothers had an 8th grade education or less, 35 % had some high school, and only 4% had graduated from high school or gone to college. None of the respondents' mothers had completed college. This level of education is in contrast to the level of their daughters education; 35% of the daughters whom we are studying had attended high school or gone further compared with only 4% of the mothers. Twenty-three percent of the respondents had completed 8th grade or less, while 60% of the mothers were in this category. The mean level of education for the mothers and the respondents was 7.12 vs. 10.13 respectively.

There was a statistically significant difference between the means for the two employment groups with the mothers of the employed respondents having about a year more of education than the nonemployed (mean = 7.98 vs. 7.04)**.

### D2.4 Employment of Respondent's Mother

There were two questions asked about the mother's employment history. One referred to the extent of the mother's employment while the respondent was a preschool child and the second after she was in school. The three point scales ranged from the mother working none of the time (0), some of the time (1), and almost all of the time (2). The overall mean for the mother's employment when the respondent was a preschool child was 0.60, indicating an infrequent employment by the mothers. There was no significant employment effect on this item, but there was an effect attributable to welfare status. The mothers of the current welfare women were somewhat more likely to work than those of the former welfare women (means = .63 vs. .51)**.

The overall mean of mother's employment after the respondent was older than preschool age was still fairly low although higher than when the respondent was a preschool child. There was a significant employment effect with the employed being more likely than the nonemployed to have a mother who worked (means = .94 vs. .83)*.

### D2.5 Comments About Family of Origin

There was a fair amount of upward mobility in regard to educational level from one generation to the next. The father's educational level did not predispose the daughter to become employed, but the mother's did. Perhaps one of the incidental effects of higher education and employment of the mother was her acting as a model for the daughter toward her employment with its potential for mobility out of poverty.

The nonpredictive value of the stability of the family of origin regarding employment and welfare status is a hopeful sign, giving less credence to the idea of the perpetuation of instability from one generation to the next. On the other hand, 25% of the sample were from quite unstable backgrounds which might be more significant related to other variables such as stability of their own marriage or their attitudes about themselves.

## D3 Residence

To what extent can the ecological factor of place of residence influence the behavior of our respondents? Does living in the city predispose one to utilize the community resources of employment and welfare? Is home ownership related to more independent behavior such as employment or leaving welfare? Which groups are more stable in their residential mobility?

In this section we shall consider the location of the house, number of moves, home ownership, amount paid for housing, number of rooms and rooms per person as elements in the residence variable. The conditions of the house and women's attitudes about it will be discussed in the chapter, "The Employed Woman as Homemaker."

### D3.1 Location of House

The interviewers indicated where the house was located.

They had a choice of six responses ranging from "in the open country" to "in a town over 25,000." The mean and median for the entire sample fell in the population of 5 to 25,000. More women, however, lived in a town over 25,000 than any other size. The next most frequent was in the open country.

Table D3.1

Percent Distribution of Responses for the Item:
"Where is your house located?"

| Code | Response | % |
|---|---|---|
| 0 | in the open country | 18 |
| 1 | in a small group of houses outside of town | 12 |
| 2 | outskirts or suburb of town under 5,000 | 6 |
| 3 | in town over 5,000 and under 25,000 | 15 |
| 4 | outskirts of town over 25,000 | 5 |
| 5 | in town over 25,000 and under 100,000 | 43 |
| | Total percent | 99 |

The definition of rurban residence was followed in our study. Even the open country residences were not more than 15 miles from a town, as determined by maps of the area. There were no significant differences between the two employment groups, but there were differences attributable to the main effects of welfare and marital status. The women presently on welfare were more likely to live in a large community than were those formerly on welfare (means = 3.40 vs. 2.64)*** and the husband-absent group were more likely to be in larger towns than the husband-present (means = 3.64 vs. 2.67***. The welfare, nonemployed, husband-absent women were most likely to live in the city and the formerly welfare, not employed and married, to live in the country (means = 3.81 vs. 2.17)***.

There was a significant difference for the employment by welfare status interaction as shown in the following table.

Table D3.1a

Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status for the Item: "Location of residence"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | 3.17 | 3.49 |
| Ex-welfare | 3.07 | 2.24 |

$p < .001$

There was very little effect of welfare status for the employed, but the differences between the two welfare groups for the nonemployed were quite marked. The nonemployed welfare women were much more likely to live in a city while the nonemployed, formerly welfare women were more likely to live in the country (means = 3.49 vs. 2.24). It may be that the formerly welfare were more willing to exchange the convenience of the city for more space and cheaper rent which they have to pay for themselves. Our next demographic variable, "amount paid for housing," may shed some light on this problem.

### D3.2 Amount Paid for Housing

The average amount paid for housing by the sample as a whole was $78.27 per month. The employed paid a significantly higher amount for rent than did the nonemployed (means = $84.52 vs. $75.14)**. The formerly welfare paid more for housing than did the presently welfare (means = $84.51 vs. $75/56)**. There was no interaction effect for welfare by employment; we can therefore expect that the employed formerly welfare would pay the most and the nonemployed welfare the least, and this was borne out.

The one statistically significant interaction effect was welfare by marital status.

Table D3.2

Interaction of Welfare on Marital Status for the Item: "Amount paid per month for housing"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Husband-absent | Husband-present |
| Welfare | $77.18 | $72.79 |
| Ex-welfare | $77.58 | $86.96 |

$p < .001$

The difference between the presently and formerly welfare groups was about $9.00 per month for the husband-absent and the husband-present, if the interaction effect was nonsignificant. However, the two husband-absent groups were almost idencal in the amount paid for housing, approximately $77.00 a month. The husband-present groups, however, differed more than expected, according to the dependency status of the family. The formerly welfare group paid $86.96 per month and the presently welfare group paid $72.79 per month, a difference of over $14.00 per month. The group paying the lowest amount for housing was the husband-present welfare group. One would expect these families to pay more since there was one more person in the household but this was not found.

### D3.3 Home Ownership

For the sample as a whole, 74% rented, and 26% owned their own homes. There were significant differences between the employment, welfare, and marital groups on the percent of renters. The nonemployed more often rented than the employed (78% vs. 69%)***, the welfare more often than the formerly welfare (83% vs. 55%)*** and the husband-absent more than the husband-present (84% vs. 64%)***. The most likely group to be renters were the welfare, not employed, husband-absent

(90%), and the least likely group to be renters were the formerly welfare, employed, with husbands present (47%). Those who have managed to become employed, married and formerly welfare were more likely to be home owners, almost twice as many as for the sample as a whole (53% vs. 26%). This finding suggests that those who have made it in one area of their lives are more likely to make it in another area.

### D3.4 Number of Moves

The respondents were asked the number of times they had changed their residence in the last 10 years. The overall average was 3.39, and there were no significant differences between the two employment groups. The presently welfare, however, moved more often than did the formerly welfare (means = 3.67 vs. 2.76)***.

### D3.5 Number of Rooms per Household

The average number of rooms for the sample was 6.05 with no difference attributable to employment status. The formerly welfare had less than one room more than the presently welfare (means = 6.37 vs. 5.71)***, and the husband-present had about one more room than the husband-absent families (means = 6.37 vs. 5.68)***.

### D3.6 Number of Persons per Household

This number included everyone who was currently living in the household. The additional requirement was added that the persons eat there regularly whether related to the respondent or not. There were 5.67 persons living in the households on the average. The employed had fewer people in the household than did the nonemployed (means = 5.37 vs. 5.81)***. There was also, of course, a significant marital effect of almost two more persons in the household for the married women (means = 6.63 vs. 4.77)***. There was one significant interaction effect with employment.

Table D3.6

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item: "Total number of persons in the household"

| | means<br>Employed | <br>Nonemployed |
|---|---|---|
| Husband-absent | 4.70 | 4.83 |
| Husband-present | 6.12 | 6.87 |

$p < .01$

There was a significant marital effect and it was greater for the nonemployed than for the employed. The husband-present nonemployed women had a larger number of persons in the household than the husband-absent nonemployed women.

## D3.7 Number of Persons per Room

The crucial factor about housing is the number of persons per room, rather than the raw number of rooms. There was one person per room on the average for the sample (mean = 1.02) with no employment or welfare status differences. The marital effect was significant with the husband-present having more persons per room than the husband-absent(means = 1.12 vs. .91)***.

## D3.8 Comments About Residence

Place of residence, number of times there was a change of residence, and number of rooms in the house, did not differentiate the two employment groups. However, home ownership, total income, amount paid for housing,and having fewer persons living in the house favored the employed.

There was no support for the notion that ex-welfare pay less for rent since they have to pay for it themselves;

as a matter of fact, the opposite is true, especially for the husband-present, ex-welfare who pay the most. Having no husband may be enough of an economic leveling factor so that whether one is or is not on welfare, the amount of money available for rent is minimal.

Whether one more move on the average for the welfare group in the last 10 years is a function of a sampling bias - we had more difficulty locating the formerly welfare - or whether the difference was a function of the greater stability of the formerly welfare, we cannot determine. In any case, there was no difference in mobility attributable to the major variable of employment to marital status or to any of the interactions.

The most interesting finding was home ownership and its potential. Does owning a home (and we included paying a mortgage) provide the kind of stability that helps people make it off welfare and have the incentive to work, or is there a self-selection process so that those who own their home do so because they are already more effective? In any case, it would seem that more rather than less emphasis on home ownership might be significant for social policy among the poor and contribute to their motivation to work.

## D4 Income

### D4.1 Income from Woman's Employment

The income for the sample was divided into two sources and their sum. The first source was from the woman's employment and the second was from all other sources. The overall level of income from the woman's employment was $1,106 per year. As could be expected, those who were employed at the time of the interview earned a good deal more in the year preceding the interview than did those who were nonemployed (means = $2,789 vs. $287)***. This finding gives further credence to our division of the sample into the employed and the nonemployed with the former group's annual earnings 10 times that of the nonemployed. The ex-welfare earned more than the welfare (means = $1,658 vs. $878)***, and the husband-absent women earned more by their own labors than the husband-present (means = $1,185 vs. $1,020)***. The employed, ex-welfare, husband-absent women earned the most and the nonemployed, welfare, husband-absent earned the least (means = $3,546 vs. $214). The employment by marriage interaction was significant.

Table D4.1

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item: "Earned Income by Woman"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Husband-absent | $2916 | $324 |
| Husband-present | $2646 | $250 |

$p < .01$

There was a greater effect of marital status for the nonemployed than for the employed. Although the husband-absent groups earned more for both employment groups, the difference was proportionately larger for the nonemployed.

## D4.2 Income from Other Sources

The average amount of family income attributable to sources other than the wife's earnings was $3,714. This amount was on the average about three times larger than the wife's earnings. On the other hand, for those families with the wife working the amounts from the two sources were much closer - $2,789 from the wife's employment and $3,091 from other sources. Other sources included welfare payments, other government sources and the husband's earnings or support payments.

The welfare status groups likewise showed a difference in earnings. For the formerly welfare the amount earned by the woman was \$1,651, and their other income was \$4,817, contrasted with the presently welfare having \$878 from the wife's working and \$3,252 from other sources.

## D4.3 Total Family Income

The average income from all sources for the families was \$4,916. The employed obtained more from all sources than the nonemployed (means = \$5,899 vs. \$4,300)** and the formerly welfare more than the presently welfare (means = \$6,468 vs. \$4,130)***. The husband-present did better overall than did the husband-absent (means = \$5,870 vs. \$3,863)***.

## D4.4 Per Capita Income

Employment and being off welfare had their financial reward resulting in an average difference of \$376 per person per year between the two employment groups (means = \$1,176 vs. \$800)***. The formerly welfare's annual income per person was \$1,199 vs. \$808 for the presently welfare. There was one significant interaction.

Table D4.4

Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status for the Item: "Per Capita Income"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | \$995 | \$739 |
| Ex-welfare | \$1421 | \$1002 |

$p < .01$

Welfare status had a greater effect for the employed than for the nonemployed in regard to per capita income, although there was a welfare effect for both employment groups.

It is interesting that the employed welfare had about the same per capita income as did the formerly welfare nonemployed (means = $995 vs. $1,022), suggesting that probably the results were about the same whether a welfare woman worked, or if she got married and went off welfare.

### D4.5 Comments About Income

This study was underway after New York State had begun to allow employed welfare women to retain some of their earnings while receiving a welfare supplement. This resulted in these welfare women having a somewhat better standard of living but they were not earning as much as the formerly welfare. Amount of money is one criterion for the difference between being on and off welfare. The two extreme income groups were the employed formerly welfare, husband-present, contrasted with nonemployed, presently welfare, husband-absent ($7,962 vs. $3,378).

For economically poor women, working, being off welfare and marrying apparently paid off. A change towards any of these circumstances meant an increase in income for her. The per capita differences in income are clarified in the next section on the number of children in the family.

## D5 Age and Number of Children

### D5.1 Number and Presence of Preschool Children

One of the major recognized drawbacks to the employment of women is the presence of preschool children. Some policy makers believe that if there are no adequate facilities for the care of preschool children, the mother not only cannot be expected to work, but has a duty to stay at home and be the mother for her young children. If she has no preschool children, however, the assumption is that she is ready for employment and, according to the proposed family assistance plan, she should be expected to work. The question asked of the data was how many of those with and without preschool children actually were employed? How much of a drawback to employment was having a preschool child? What proportion of mothers with no preschool children were employed? If a fair number with no preschool children were not employed, we would need to look elsewhere in terms of national programming to facilitate employment. Before discussing the finding, however, we should recall that the average age of the mothers of the sample was 40 and relatively few were under 30.

The total sample had 63% with no preschool children, 26% with 1, 9% with 2, and 3% with 3 or 4; the average was .52 preschool children per family.

The nonemployed had more preschool children than the employed (means = .60 vs. .36)***. The presently welfare had more than the formerly welfare (means = .58 vs. .39)**, and the husband-present had more preschoolers than the husband-absent (means = .62 vs. .43)***. In addition, there was one interaction effect.

Table D5.1

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item: "Number of preschool children"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Husband-absent | .37 | .44 |
| Husband present | .36 | .75 |

$p < .001$

There was no marital effect for the employed (mean = .37 vs. .36), but there was a significant difference for the nonemployed with the husband-present nonemployed having more preschool children than the husband-absent nonemployed.

The two extreme groups were the employed, formerly welfare, husband-absent and the nonemployed, presently welfare, husband-present (means .13 vs. .84). Only 10% of the former group had any preschool children while 52% of the latter had one or more.

Among the welfare group, 59% of those with no preschool children did not work while 36% did work who had one or more preschool children at home.

D5.2 Total Number of Children

To what extent did having a large family inhibit participation in the work force? Did those with more children tend to stay at home and care for them? Did those who were found to have a lower income also have more children? Did those who were not working have large families in order to find meaning for themselves? The existential problem of finding meaning in life may be more readily resolved through the family than in the world of work.

On the average the mothers had 3.95 children. There was a significant difference for the two employment groups with the nonemployed having more children than the employed (means= 4.02 vs. 3.73)**.

There was one significant first-order interaction.

Table D5.2

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item: "Number of children"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Husband-absent | 3.48 | 3.51 |
| Husband-present | 4.02 | 4.57 |

$p < .05$

Marital status had an effect for both employment groups but the effect was even greater for nonemployed women. The nonemployed husband-absent women had 3.51 children on the average and the husband-present had 4.57 children. The second order interaction was statistically significant.

Table D5.2a

Interaction of Welfare and Marital on Employment Status for the Item: "Number of children"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare Husband-absent | 3.77 | 3.53 |
| Welfare Husband-present | 4.08 | 4.84 |
| Ex-welfare Husband-absent | 2.76 | 3.29 |
| Ex-welfare Husband-present | 3.97 | 4.15 |

$p < .05$

The table illustrates the wide range of numbers of children in the families. The employed,ex-welfare, husband-absent women had the least children (2.76), while the nonemployed, welfare, husband-present had the most children (4.84).

The most interesting group is the employed, welfare, husband-absent women who have more children than any of the other husband=absent groups (3.77), including more children than both nonemployed husband-absent groups (3.53 and 3.29), and yet are working.

## D5.3 Comments About Number and Age of Children

The presence and number of preschool children varied by employment, welfare, and marital status. The nonemployed, welfare, and married women had the most children. The interesting findings were the number of welfare women who worked even though they had preschool children at home and those welfare women who did not work even though they had no preschool children. This suggests that although the presence of preschool children was important, other factors need to be considered in regard to women's employment. The presence of a husband in the home did not result in more preschool children for the employed but had a marked effect for the nonemployed. Working women were not having more children.

The cause and effect problem cannot readily be solved, but it is clear that having a husband, not being employed, and being on welfare were elements associated with having larger families. It is interesting to note that there was no main effect for welfare status, i.e., those on welfare did not have larger families. Yet, the group with the largest number of children was the nonemployed, welfare, husband-present women, and the group with the fewest children was the employed, ex-welfare, husband-absent women.

An exceptional group was the group of welfare working women with no husbands who had a larger number of children than any of the other husband-absent groups. What are the drives and energy levels which make it possible for these women to work outside the home with a large number of children at home even though that work does not bring in enough income to get them off welfare? To what extent can this group be differentiated from others in terms of their attitudes and personalities or other measures of this study?

Those with large families need to have available family planning facilities in order for them to not have more children if they do not want any more. The myth of a large number of children in families with the husband-absent is not well substantiated . The husband-absent women had fewer children than the average amount of the sample. Yet, their mean number of children was 3.50 which may be more children than they want and more than society may want to support. Sometimes, social policy is at odds with its goals. In New York State, where abortions are legalized, until very recently Medicaid would not pay for abortions but would pay for full term deliveries - a blatant case of discrimination against poor women who wanted fewer children!

A number of case studies illustrated the dilemmas of welfare women with very large families of 10 to 14 children. Their possibility of moving off of welfare through their own efforts or through getting a husband are low until the children have grown. Several of the women stated they wished they had family-planning facilities available to them when they were young. It is shocking both for the women and for society.

## D6 Family Illness

This section consists of three parts: the woman's health, the health of other family members, and the impact of health conditions upon employment.

### D6.1 Women's health

Women were asked to indicate their satisfaction with their health on a five point scale, from 0 = a good deal of a problem, through 2 = not a problem or a satisfaction, to 4 = a good deal of satisfaction. The overall average was 2.19. Thirthy-nine percent of the women indicated that illness was somewhat or very much of a problem. The nonemployed were less satisfied with their health (means = 1.97 vs. 2.63)***. Both marital and welfare status had significant interactions with employment.

Table D6.1

Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status for the Item: "How satisfied are you with your health?"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | 2.66 | 1.87 |
| Ex-welfare | 2.58 | 2.28 |

$p < .01$

There was little welfare effect for the employed but among the nonemployed the welfare group considered their health to be more of a problem. The direction for the employed, although nonsignificant, was reversed; the employed welfare were most satisfied with their health.

Table D6.1a

Interaction of Marital on Employment for the Item: "How satisfied are you with your health?"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Husband-absent | 2.66 | 1.74 |
| Husband-present | 2.59 | 2.22 |

$p < .05$

Among the employed, husband absence or presence made no difference, but among the nonemployed, the husband-absent women had more problems with their health.

Twenty-six percent of the sample of women reported having one or more serious illnesses during the last 12 months. Serious illness was defined as having to stay in bed for at least a week. The nonemployed had more serious illnesses than the employed (means = .34 vs. .25)**.

Table D6.1b

Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status for the Item:

"Number of serious illnesses mother had in the last 12 months."

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | .23 | .37 |
| Ex-welfare | .27 | .24 |

$p < .05$

The employed were not significantly differentiated according to the welfare status of the wife but the nonemployed welfare mothers had significantly more illnesses than did the ex-welfare women.

## D6.2 Health of Children and Husband

The women were asked to indicate how many serious illnesses their children had during the last 12 months. For the sample as a whole, 26% reported children with one or more serious illnesses. The means reflect the fact that the total number of illnesses were reported and 8% of the families had two or more serious illnesses for their children. The mean for the total sample was .36 with the difference between the employment groups not significant but in the direction of more illness for the nonemployed (.38 vs. .31). The means of the welfare groups ' showed that the welfare mothers had more sick children than the ex-welfare (means = .40 vs. .26)**. There were no interactions.

When asked about illnesses of the husband, the responses of the husband-present groups showed that the difference between the employment groups was not significant although the means were in the direction of more illness for the nonemployed (means = .38 vs. .28). There was a significant difference between the two welfare groups with the presently welfare having more husband illness (means = .43 vs. .25)***.

## D6.3 Effect of Mother's Illness on Employment

In the panel study, the women were asked whether their health or physical condition ever prevented them from seeking a job or made them lose one. Thirty-five percent of the total sample reported affirmatively to the question. The nonemployed were significantly more likely to have their health influence their employment (44% vs. 28%)***.

Sixteen percent of the women reported that they left their last job because of their own illness and the nonemployed reported this occurring more often than did the employed (18% vs. 13%)*. There was a significant marital by employment interaction.

Table D6.3

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item:
"Own illness as a reason for
leaving the last job."

| | means<br>Employed | Nonemployed |
|---|---|---|
| Husband-absent | .11 | .21 |
| Husband-present | .16 | .14 |

p < .01

## D6.4 Comments about Family Illness

The nonemployed, in every comparison, showed more illness than the employed. The nonemployed had more illness themselves, more sick children and if a husband was present, he too was more apt to be sick. Significant interactions with employment and marital status showed that among the employed, a woman was more apt to be sick if she had a husband. If she was not working, she was more apt to be sick if she had no husband. This would appear to reflect either reason or rationalization for not working among the nonemployed. Support for either is shown in the item about reasons for leaving the last job where the same trends are shown.

The association of sickness with nonemployment is serious and one wonders about the causal direction. A pending study by Drs. Roe and Latham is expected to provide some answers to these questions.

### D7 Summary and Comments about Demography

In summary, this sample was first differentiated by welfare, employment, and marital status. About 70% of the women were presently welfare and about 30% were formerly welfare. One-third were employed and two-thirds nonemployed and about 50% were married and 50% not married. Less than 3% of the area population was Black, but 12% of the present sample of poor women was Black. There was no difference in the proportion of Blacks by employment status, but they were more likely to be on welfare.

The average educational level was 10th grade with the employed and ex-welfare women being somewhat higher. The average age of the women was 40 years with the nonemployed and the husband-absent being less than one year older on the average than their counterparts.

About 25% of the women came from families with some instability. Although stability of family of origin did not differentiate the families on their welfare, employment, or marital status, it might have differentiated other variables such as happiness of their own marriage or effectiveness with their children.

About half of the sample lived in a town of 25,000 and over, or in its suburbs. The remainder lived either in the open country or in smaller towns. There was no difference in place of residence for the two employment groups, but the welfare and the husband-absent were more likely to live in the city. About three-fourths of the families rented their residence, and the employed, the married, and those no longer on welfare were more likely to own their own homes. The average number of rooms was six. The median number of times the families had moved in the last 10 years was three. The formerly welfare had moved less often than the presently welfare - about one less move in the last 10 years. It was not clear whether this was due to a sampling problem, or whether they were more stable. There was no difference in the average number of moves for the married or employed groups.

The average income from all sources was $4.916; the formerly welfare, employed, and married women tended to earn more. Per capita income was significantly higher for these same groups. The average family had approximately four children; the nonemployed and currently married women had more.

Women on welfare were less likely to be employed than those off welfare. Marriage did not enable us to predict whether or not a woman was working, but did enable us to predict whether or not the woman was on welfare.

### D8 Implications about Demography and Employment

1. Home ownership stands out as one of the more salient demographic factors related to the employment of the wife. Owning a home, or rather buying it, gives the family a sense of purpose, a feeling that they are getting "a piece of the action." The "sweat equity" program which allows families to use their own labor for the down payment of an older home is one feasible way families can begin to move out of poverty through their own efforts. Employment then, has a real purpose! One suggestion would be to add the opportunity to own one's own home to the incentives for the Work Incentive Program.

2. The number of children and number of preschool children had a straightforward relationship with employment.

Family-planning services and programs need to be part of a training program for women. Yet the barrier of young children at home is not the only barrier limiting labor force participation of low income women. Between one-half and two-thirds of the unemployed welfare families in our sample had no preschool child at home, and over one-third of the employed welfare women had a preschool child. Attention must be paid to other aspects of womens' functioning and not just to the problem of being mothers.

In New York State, and other states, if a man wants to marry a woman on welfare who has children, he must become financially responsible for the children even though he is not their natural father. This is a factor which limits the marriage of welfare clients since they can live together as an unmarried couple and remain a two income family. A proposal to remedy this would be to make the new husband financially responsible for his wife and his own children while the State or the previous father remains responsible for the other children in the family.

3. Having a husband was associated with being off welfare. Increasing the possibility for welfare women to get married may not only make for a more effective family, but would also increase their chances for leaving welfare. Being employed enables a woman to have more contacts with men and thereby increases her chances for marriage.

4. The fact that one-fourth of the families in our sample of welfare mothers were employed and still on welfare indicates that employment for many women may not be adequate by itself. This indicates that women are paid very low salaries. The employed have a higher income however. Employment also meant that they had more dignity and a higher level of self-esteem.

5. The employed women had a somewhat higher level of education than the nonemployed. There is a need to educate

young children today in order to guarantee them a successful future.

6. Although adequate conclusions about the influence of health on employment cannot be made until the study by Drs. Roe and Latham has been completed, it is clear that the physical condition of the mothers and their family is a significant factor in their employment. A convenient health delivery service is needed.

# CHAPTER IV

# THE WOMAN AS AN EMPLOYEE

Society accepts and expects that men should work throughout their adult lives but for women, there is a great deal of ambivalence. In some groups there is high prestige for women being employed, especially if they have high prestige occupations. In other groups womens' employment has low prestige and there is sex typing of functions. Men are to work and provide the income; women are to stay home and care for the children, home, and husband. If women work outside of the home it means that the husband was unable to provide or that they had no husband.

If a low-income woman cannot be provided for by a husband, she has two alternatives "marry" welfare - a steady but not very affluent provider, or be her own man - work outside the home for pay, and also be her own woman by taking care of the house. Data were gathered on women's attitudes about this dilemma.

Other areas discussed in this chapter are the details about employment, work history, satisfaction with work, reasons for not seeking jobs, and for leaving employment. The latter is especially interesting for women employees, and many of the questions refer to the extent of "female" reasons for leaving work and for not returning to work.

## E1 Facts about Women's Employment

### E1.1 Usual Occupation

Mothers were asked for their present or most recent occupation and also for their usual occupation. There were no significant differences between the two. By using the usual occupation, it was possible to compare the respondent and her mother on the same question. White collar work was the most frequent type of occupation for the present generation and factory work second for them but first for their mothers. There was no difference in the percent of those who were doing domestic work. There was a marked difference in the percent that had no occupation; over 40% of the mothers and only 15% of the respondents were in this category.

Table E1.1

Comparison of Usual Occupation for Respondent and her Mother (percent)

| Occupation | Respondent | Respondent's Mother |
|---|---|---|
| Clerical, sales and other services | 28 | 12 |
| Factory | 22 | 15 |
| Waitress | 15 | 8 |
| Chambermaid and domestic | 13 | 14 |
| Laundry | 5 | 5 |
| Laborer | 15 | 43 |
| Total | 98 | 97 |

## E1.2 Hours Worked Per Week

The presently employed responded in terms of their present job while those not employed referred to their most recent job. The item was coded for actual number of hours reported and then regrouped for presentation. The average number of hours worked by the sample was 35.27.

## Table E1.2
### Number of Hours Worked per week

| Hours | Percent |
|---|---|
| Never worked | 3 |
| 1-20 | 12 |
| 21-30 | 7 |
| 31-40 | 68 |
| Over 40 | 8 |
| No answer | 1 |
| Total | 99 |

There was no difference in the number of hours worked attributable to employment status, but the currently welfare were more likely to have a longer work week (means = 35.91 vs. 33.74)*** and there was one significant interaction effect.

## Table E1.2a
### Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status for the Item: "Number of Hours Worked per week."

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | 36.08 | 35.85 |
| Ex-welfare | 35.69 | 32.01 |

$p < .05$

Among the employed, welfare status made little difference. Among the nonemployed, the formerly welfare had worked fewer hours per week than the presently welfare women (means = 32.01 vs. 35.85). There was a somewhat larger proportion of the ex-welfare who were working less than 30 hours per week (30% vs. 19% for the whole sample). When they did work, they were more often able to manage part-time employment.

## E1.3 Hourly Pay Rate

The nonemployed were asked to anticipate what their pay would be if they were to get a job, while the employed reported their actual hourly pay. The average hourly pay rate for the sample was $1.77 per hour. Eight percent reported less than $1.50 per hour and 19% reported more than $2.20 an hour; only 5% reported earning more than $3.00 an hour. The currently employed earned more per hour at their present jobs than the nonemployed thought they would earn (means = $1.93 vs. $1.65)***. There was no difference for welfare or marital status but one interaction was significant.

Table E1.3

Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status for the Item: "Hourly Pay Rate"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | $1.91 | $1.66 |
| Ex-welfare | $2.11 | $1.64 |

$p < .05$

There was no welfare effect for the nonemployed, but the formerly welfare who were employed earned more pay per hour than did the presently welfare women (means = $2.11 vs. $1.91). This 20 cents per hour average made a difference of about $400 per year.

## E1.4 Job Duration

Both the employed and nonemployed rated their most recent and then their previous job for the number of months they were employed.

The average number of months worked by the women was 24.52. Although 41% of them worked less than one year, 20% worked more than three years. The employed had worked at their present job longer than the nonemployed had worked at their most recent job (means = 28.46 vs. 22.66)***. There was one significant interaction effect with employment.

Table E1.4

Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status for the Item: "Job duration"

| | means<br>Employed | <br>Nonemployed |
|---|---|---|
| Welfare | 24.51 | 23.90 |
| Ex-welfare | 33.80 | 18.55 |

$p < .001$

For the employed, the ex-welfare had held their present job for a much longer time than had the presently welfare - over nine months difference (means = 33.80 vs. 24.51). The currently employed, formerly welfare were the best job risks. For the nonemployed, the trend was reversed; the formerly welfare women's duration of their most recent job was the shortest of all (mean = 18.55)

The data for duration of the previous job was similar to that of the present job, indicating some consistency in the employment records of these women. The mean duration was 22.49 months with the employed working longer than the nonemployed (means = 26.26 vs. 20.79)*** and the interaction of welfare status on employment was in the same direction.

### E1.5 Work Reliability

#### E1.51 Number of days late more than five minutes

Although we gathered data from both the employed and the nonemployed, the data were more valid for the employed since the nonemployed were currently not working and had not worked much during the previous year as evidenced by their low earned income. The data are reported only for the employed.

About 50% of the employed were not late once during the year for more than five minutes. An additional 40% were late from one to five times with about 10% late more than five times. The one interaction indicated that the husband-absent were likely to be late more often than the husband-present women (means = .91 vs. .59)*.

### E1.52 Number of days absent from work in last year

Only 17% of the employed women reported being never absent during the past year, but 40% more reported they missed work only one to five days. Fourteen percent were absent from five to ten days, 9% were absent from 11 to 15, 5% from 15 to 20, and 15% were absent over 20 days. In other words, about one-sixth were never absent, over one-half absent from 1 to 10 days, and about one-third over 10 days.

### E1.6 Comment

The notion of part-time work as a modal pattern of employment was not evident in this study. Relatively few women worked part-time, possibly because jobs were not as readily available and because it may not have been financially feasible. In terms of the work load of women - discussed further in the section on the woman as homemaker - part-time employment would appear to be feasible for many of the women.

It is interesting that the presently unemployed women anticipated that they would earn less than the employed were actually earning. Either they had less marketable skills or they had not kept up with the actual amount available for employment. Since they were not working, they might have been minimizing the pay off as another way of justifying their situation. It would seem appropriate to inform the nonemployed of the difference between what they think they would earn and what those who are working actually get. The difference was almost 30 cents per hour, amounting to about $600 a year. This misperception held for both the presently and formerly welfare groups who were nonemployed.

The duration of employment at one job was quite respectable especially for low income women and extended to almost the same level for the last two jobs. Employers can feel that hiring women is a fairly good risk insofar as tenure is concerned. However, there was no difference in job duration for those on welfare, whether now employed or not (means = 24.51 vs. 22.90); therefore an employer would be taking no greater risk by hiring a welfare woman who is not presently employed. The formerly welfare, unemployed women had the lowest job duration period and might be a greater risk in terms of their prior history. But even these women had worked for 18 months at each of their two most recent jobs.

Having a man facilitated a woman's reporting to work on time. He may help get her off in the morning and make some of the home and child care arrangements. Several of the case study women had a husband who stayed home and took care of the home tasks while the woman worked. Although both sexes felt uncomfortable about the arrangement since they were reared in a tradition where the roles were more stereotyped, they seemed to function fairly well. A woman with no adult help apparently found more interference with her being prompt and the data suggest that special effort be made to inquire about the causes of tardiness early in employment before these become major problems. If feasible, employers might be less rigid with these husband-absent women and allow them to make up their lost time.

Absenteeism appeared to be quite a problem and should be viewed as symptomatic of home problems. The women holding down the two jobs of worker and homemaker need some assistance in management of the home and care of children especially when children become ill. Present day care centers have no such facilities.

The trend toward creches at the place of work where the mother could take some time off and visit her baby is a humane way of combining motherhood and employment.

## E2 Early Work History

One of the questions relating to policy is the extent to which the working and nonworking are similar in their early work histories. If they are similar - and we have tapped them at one arbitrary point in time - then it is more difficult to consider the two groups as employed and nonemployed. If the women are markedly different in their work history then it may be difficult to move them from one status to another. If most women are sporadic in their early work history, coming in and out of the labor market, we may need to look for different kinds of classification systems and sets of causes.

Three items were selected to assess the extent to which women worked during the time of their life when they would be least likely to be employed. These items were selected, not only as a component of work history but also as an index of commitment to work. Other variables to be discussed later measure the woman's work commitment attitude rather than her practice.

The three periods selected for discussion for this variable were: before the first child was born, when the woman had children under the age of two, and when she had children between the ages of two and five. The mother could indicate four levels of work participation: 0 = very little or not at all; 1 = some but less than half; 2 = most or over half; 3 = almost all or all.

The overall level of employment for the entire sample was somewhat above the level of having worked "some" but less than half of the time (mean = 1.10). However, the mean is a misleading term here since the sample tended to be bimodal with the largest proportion of cases in the very little or not at all group (52%) and the next highest group in the almost all or all of the time employed group (28%). The remaining 20% were in the some or most of the time employed group. One may conclude, then, that women tended to have different work patterns throughout these years of their life. This work history pattern is similar to the distribution of currently employed and nonemployed if one divides the 20% occasionally employed equally into the high employment and low employment history groups. We should keep in mind that there was a small group of occasionally employed women and these will be considered in more detail in the case studies.

All three main effects and one interaction (employment X welfare) had statistically significant differences for the variable, early work history. As expected, workers had a significantly longer employment history than did nonworkers (means = 1.65 vs. 1.11)***, and this difference was consistent for each of the three component questions but was most marked for employment during the preschool period (means = 1.44 vs. .88)***. Employment in later life may be a function of this early employment period. The employment by welfare status interaction was significant.

Table E2

Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status for the Summed Variable:
"Early Work History"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | 1.28 | 1.06 |
| Ex-welfare | 1.41 | .75 |

$p < .001$

Among the employed there was little difference in the early work histories for the welfare women or the ex-welfare. This indicates that both groups had worked about the same duration when they were young. They had both worked about the same amount of time before they had a child and continued when the children were preschoolers. The nonemployed ex-welfare women had the lowest level of early employment as well as the lowest job duration.

### E2.1 Comments about Early Work History

Even though the presently welfare,employed women had begun working as early as had the formerly welfare,employed women, they were still on welfare. It may be that their pay rate of 20 cents per hour less than the formerly welfare made a difference. If so, upgrading their skills and helping them get a better job may be worthwhile. This group cannot be blamed for not trying.

The low level of early employment for the formerly welfare, nonemployed women indicates the efficacy of the alternate solution for women, to leave welfare by getting married. They have the lowest proportion of husband-absent women.

## E3 Activities Other Than Paid Employment Outide the Home

The definition of employment for this study was paid work outside of the home. However, this meant that those working in their own home were classified as nonemployed. We inquired about paid and unpaid work in the home and volunteer work outside of the home.

Seventy percent of the women had never worked in their own home for pay. Although 23% had done this work in the past, only 7% were doing this at the time of the interview. Ten percent of the nonemployed and 3% of the employed were earning some money for work done in the home at the time of the interview.

Forty-three percent had never done unpaid work in their own home such as caring for other children, although 47% had done it in the past and the remaining 10% were currently doing it. Sixty-seven percent of the sample had never done volunteer work outside of their own homes. Twenty-seven percent had done volunteer work in the past, and 6% were doing it at the time of the interview. There were no significant main effects but there was one significant interaction.

Table E3

Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status for the Item: "Volunteer Work"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | .46 | .36 |
| Ex-welfare | .35 | .43 |

$p < .01$

Welfare status had a different effect for each of the two employment groups. Among the employed, the presently welfare did more volunteer work than did the formerly welfare. Among the unemployed, the ex-welfare women were more likely to be volunteers.

## E3.1 Comments about Activities Other Than Paid Employment

For these extra employment activities the expectation would be that the nonemployed would be doing more of them since they had more time. This expectation was not borne out. The rate of participation in these activities was low for the sample as a whole; only 10% of the sample was involved in these activities. Also, the passivity of the nonemployed and the lack of time for the employed balanced each other out.

The employed welfare were generally more active in other ways and the fact that they were participating in a little more volunteer work was another example of their energy and ambition.

One of the case study women started on a very interesting career by first doing some volunteer work and then being selected for a special job training program. It is interesting that some of the ex-welfare nonemployed women, while low in their work interest, were doing more volunteer work in the community.

## E4 Work Motivation

Why do women want to work? Is it the intrinsic interest of the task, the money, the opportunity to meet other people, the self-fulfillment that comes from work? The respondents rated the degree of importance for a list of items. The items were then grouped into three categories relating to job, personal, and social motivation. 0 = not important, 1 = little important, 2 = quite important, 3 = very important.

Table E4

Employment Effect for the Work Motivation Items:
"How important are these things about a job that would make it a good job for you?"

| | Employed | Non-employed | p | Overall Mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Job related: | | | | |
| salary | 2.68 | 2.67 | n.s. | 2.67 |
| working conditions | 2.71 | 2.64 | .05 | 2.66 |
| work load | 1.79 | 1.80 | n.s. | 1.79 |
| overall mean | 2.39 | 2.37 | n.s. | 2.37 |
| Personal | | | | |
| help others, feel useful | 2.25 | 2.28 | n.s. | 2.27 |
| have interesting job, use skills | 2.35 | 2.22 | n.s. | 2.27 |
| overall mean | 2.30 | 2.25 | n.s. | 2.27 |
| Social | | | | |
| meet people | 2.23 | 2.12 | .05 | 2.16 |
| getting out of the house | 1.48 | 1.50 | n.s. | 1.49 |
| overall mean | 1.86 | 1.81 | n.s. | 1.83 |

There was somewhat greater interest in the job related motivations, but the overall mean was not much higher than for the personal ones (means = 2.37 vs. 2.27). The social motivations were the lowest.

## E4.1 Job Related Motivation

Almost three-fourths (73%) rated salary as very important in making a job a good one. Working conditions were almost equally important. The third item, the importance of the work load, was next to the lowest of all the items. If given a choice, women would be willing to work harder if paid more money. Only one of these job related motivations had a significant difference between the means attributable to employment status. The employed felt that working conditions were more important (means = 2.71 vs. 2.64)*.

## E4.2 Personal Motivation

There was no difference between the two items on the employment effect. Feeling useful and having an interesting job where skills were used was rated important by 85% of the women.

## E4.3 Social Motivation

The importance of being with people they liked and meeting new people was considered quite important for 75% of the women. The employed considered it more important than the nonemployee (means = 2.23 vs. 2.12)*. However, getting out of the house was not considered to be an important reason by these low income women and had the lowest mean for all of the items. There was no difference on this item for the two employment groups.

### E4.4 Comments about Work Motivation

Getting out of the house was the lowest of all the work motivators and could be thought of as a countervailing force against work for the women of this sample. They apparently were not anxious to leave home. Until they are assured that their functions as wives, mothers, and homemakers are fulfilled, they will not be seeking employment. For these women, money was an important motivator and the amount of work they would have to do was not as important as salary.

Most of the personal and social motivators were quite important to the women. These can be met either in the family or at work. In the next section women's commitment to home vs. work will be elaborated.

## E5 Commitment to Employment

The commitment of women to work is a crucial variable in determining the extent to which employment plays a significant part in women's lives. There is a social expectation that women should have a low level of work commitment in comparison to men. This low commitment is attributable to women's greater home commitment and a lower opportunity level for them.

Table E5

Employment Effect for the Work Commitment Items:

"How much do you agree or disagree with these statements?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A mother on welfare who cannot earn more money by working should stay on welfare. | 2.47 | 1.95 | .001 | 2.11 |
| To me, work is nothing more than a way to make a living. | 2.31 | 1.96 | .001 | 2.08 |
| A paid job gives more prestige to a woman than a housewife | 1.67 | 1.66 | n.s. | 1.66 |
| It is more desirable for a mother of preschoolers to be home | .68 | .51 | .01 | .57 |
| Overall mean | 1.78 | 1.52 | .01 | 1.61 |

For the four items, the higher the score, the greater the commitment the woman had to work. On this 0 to 4 scale, the overall mean was 1.66, indicating that women on the average have a low level of work commitment. The employed were more committed to employment than were the nonemployed (means = 1.78 vs. 1.52)**. This difference held for all of the items except one.

Table E5a

Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status for the Summed Variable:

"Work Commitment"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | 1.89 | 1.54 |
| Ex-welfare | 1.64 | 1.46 |

$p < .05$

There was very little effect of welfare status for the nonemployed, but the employed, presently welfare women had a greater commitment to employment than did the employed, formerly welfare (means = 1.89 vs. 1.64).

By examining the individual items, the first one indicates the extent of disagreement with the belief that "women should stay on welfare if they cannot earn more money by working." An overall mean score on this item was 2.11, indicating that women were not very committed one way or the other.

The employed were significantly more likely to feel that work had values other than being a way of making a living (means = 2.31 vs. 1.96)***. None of the other effects were significantly different.

The next two items posed a dilemma for the women about their commitment to work as opposed to their commitment to the home. The women tended to favor a home commitment for both of these items. There was no employment status difference in the means for the item, "A paid job gives more prestige to a woman than being a houswife" (agree or disagree). The overall mean score was 1.67 indicating that the women, in general, valued the job of housewife over that of paid employee. This preference is especially interesting in relation to the term "housewife" as opposed to the higher status term "homemaker." Housewife was included to sharpen the contrast.

The last item had the highest potential loading for home commitment and the women strongly agreed with the idea that it was more desirable for a mother with preschool children to stay at home than to go to work (mean = .57). Three-quarters of the women agreed strongly with this item and only 10% disagreed in any way. The employed had a somewhat greater tendency to disagree than did the nonemployed (means = .68 vs. .51)** but they, too, felt that the woman's place was in the home when she had preschool children.

## E5.1 Comments About Work Commitment

While the women in the study did feel that employment was an important component in their lives, they had a strong commitment to their roles as wives, mothers, and homemakers. Program planners cannot assume job training, transportation, educational programs, or financial incentives by themselves will be sufficient to have women accept jobs. Women will need to feel that the home will be taken care of before they seek employment. Commitment to the home and its members, while important to men, is not considered by them to be an alternative to employment, but it is for women. Many women not on welfare consider being a wife, mother, and homemaker a full-time and fulfilling career.

It is interesting that the employed, presently welfare women had more commitment to work than did any of the other groups. This commitment may reflect their impressions about the social expectations - if a woman is receiving welfare, she should try to work. They had fulfilled this expectation. From the clear and unequivocal attitude of the women in the sample that it is necessary to be home with preschool children, it would seem that women will resist employment if they have young children and will feel guilty if they work. Child care must be provided. In spite of these attitudes, 35% of the employed welfare women and 20% of the employed, formerly welfare women had preschoolers as their youngest child. If these mothers felt strongly that a mother should be home with their children, it might be that they had a great deal of guilt. Present government efforts to provide good care for preschool children may help resolve women's conflicts about their home or work commitment.

### E6 Summary and Comment About the Woman as Employee

The comments about the last section, work satisfaction, will be included here.

Women do not work for money alone, although it is quite important and the money earned served as a source of satisfaction. Getting respect for working, meeting other people, helping others, working conditions, and an opportunity to use their skills were all more satisfying than the money they earned. On the other hand, if they were to be paid more money, they might find the money they earned a more satisfying aspect of employment.

The importance of being respected for working was documented in the case studies and in the "Report of Road Junction." Those women who worked, whether on welfare or not, spoke proudly of their efforts towards independence and looked down on others who were not making as much of an effort as they were.

The high average score on the question of enjoying work and the nonsignificant difference found between the two employment groups may indicate women's real satisfactions or may reflect the social norm about this question. Whether working or not, poor women are expected to like to work. The fact that the ex-welfare, employed women who were getting higher pay and working shorter hours reported more satisfaction with their jobs indicates that even though women like to work, more compatible hours and higher pay have positive consequences. The employed women would like to spend less time working, thus showing again the burden of the two jobs - work and home. On the other hand, the fact that the nonemployed would like to work more shows that some women find their homemaking does not take all their time and they would enjoy working.

The self report data from this study supports the view that women are reliable employees. In general, the women tended to work full-time, keep a job for about two years, and report to work on time with only 10% late as many as five times in a year for more than five minutes. Absenteeism was more of a problem, especially for those without a husband, indicating a need for better organization in the home, or more likely, some emergency assistance for the kind of problems which occur at home.

On the other hand, the high incidence of pregnancy and child care problems as reasons for leaving the last job point up the need for special supportive services to help women deal with these women's problems. The woman employee cannot be thought of as just another employee.

The employed used more job related reasons for leaving their last job, while the nonemployed had more home related problems such as child care, pregnancy, and sickness. The employment service or other pertinent agencies should be notified and attempt to straighten out these problems as soon as they occur. The major reason for leaving their employment had much less to do with working conditions, salary, or being laid off and more to do with personal and home related problems. Standard procedures of job finding are not appropriate until the home problem is resolved.

There was a high supportive network for whatever working status the women had. Friends and relatives agreed that the woman should be doing what she was doing. This external pressure was reinforced by the women who tended to feel that their work status was the right one and that they should be getting their income the way they were getting it. Women not working outside of the home, but whose supportive network favored employment, are probably more ready to work than those whose network opposes their employment.

The questions about the better source of support - a job or a husband - tended to divide the women according to their present situation. The questions on working during early marriage and early child bearing showed that those who started work early tended to be those who continued working. The choice of job or husband as a preferred source of support was made early. This fact indicates that it is important to help young women keep up their working skills during early marriage. This period would be an excellent time for part-time employment and special job training to avoid skill erosion. This would be useful, too, to help mothers feel that they could manage the dual task of work and homemaking. Financial incentives should be arranged so that women would be willing to work part-time while their children were young.

In spite of the enjoyment of work, there was a conflict for most women with their desires and needs to fulfill the homemaker role - even when called "housewife." The low valence for getting out of the house and the high valence for being a housewife rather than an employee, point to their desire to fulfill the socially defined task of homemaker.

The expressive motivation of helping others was an important form of fulfillment for the women who were working or for those anticipating employment.

Some of the same motivations that the women found fulfilling in a job are those that are important at home. Whereever they work, women want to feel useful and are willing to accept a heavy work load.

Two groups of our sample are particularly interesting. One group is the husband-absent welfare women who are employed. Even though they have "married" welfare, they still choose to work. This group had the highest level of work commitment and they are a group on the way up. Special inducements need to be given this group in order that others may perceive that working pays off. One incentive would be to give them special inducements and assistance to purchase a home, tying it in with their increased income.

The second group of special interest is the working husband-present group. These are the women for whom the choice of working or staying at home is theirs to make. According to society's norm, a woman with a husband can stay at home. Therefore a woman who chooses to go out to work has a positive valence towards work and finds satisfaction in doing it. For some women with a husband, this motivation might be for more money for the family. In cases where the husband is disabled, she has the feeling that she is making a contribution to the family which is needed. For the latter group, the women may have the advantages of a husband who helps with the household work, thus making more equitable sharing of both inside and outside work.

Since in many comparisons the nonemployed anticipated less satisfaction and more problems than the employed found in their lives, there is a clear need for better communication about the facts of employment to the nonemployed. They need to be told about their realistic expectations for pay and about the self respect they will gain.

## E7 Implications About the Woman as Employee

1. Give realistic information to the nonemployed about expected gains that come from employment.

2. When women start to work, the Department of Labor should do continuous follow-up in the early months to help work out problems as they occur.

3. Set up work or training situations, even part-time, for young married women and women with their first child so they will learn how to manage both work and home tasks at the same time. These programs will help maintain their interest in working and prevent skill erosion.

4. Make work pay off in money but also in better housing. Better housing could be either the opportunity to buy a home or to be eligible for home modernization loans at low costs.

# CHAPTER V

# THE EMPLOYED WOMAN AS A HOMEMAKER

## Introduction

> Man may work from sun to sun
> But woman's work is never done.

This old adage states women's dilemma. If women go out to work, who does women's work at home? A man has a wife to care for the house when he goes out to work, but who does it when the wife also goes out to work? There is a burden of work to do in any home to make the daily existence of the family possible: to prepare the food, get clothing ready, and keep the house in order. If there are children, they must be cared for.

A good deal of attention is being paid nationally to the woman's functioning in regard to her children, and the assumption is made that if the children are cared for, the mother could go out to work. Little attention is paid to the homemaking tasks with their constant drain on time and energy. How do the home tasks rank in women's time and energy hierarchies? Are the homemaking tasks such that their accomplishment is too much for a woman with a job? How do some women manage to do both? Do women perceive homemaking as a barrier to their employment, and if so, what aspects of these tasks are of greatest concern?

### H1 Homemaking Attitudes

There were two indices of homemaking satisfaction. The first asked about preferences for spending more or less time on several homemaking tasks and the second was a direct question.

## H1.1 Preferences for Time Expenditure

Knowing how people want to spend their time presents cues about how they want to manage their lives - where they are dissatisfied with their present lot and how they would resolve this dissatisfaction if they could remake the present situation.

In a series of items, the women were asked if they would like to spend more or less time on activities related to homemaking: housework, cooking, shopping, doing things with the children, being with friends, and working on a job. Responses were on a five point scale from "much less" with a code of 0, through a neutral point coded 2 indicating "just right", to "much more" coded 4.

Table H1.1
Employment Effect for the Items:
"Would you like to spend less or more time on:?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Doing things with the children | 3.30 | 2.72 | .001 | 2.91 |
| Housework | 3.09 | 2.38 | .001 | 2.61 |
| Being with friends | 2.66 | 2.54 | .01 | 2.58 |
| Preparing food and cooking | 2.83 | 2.35 | .001 | 2.50 |
| Shopping | 2.33 | 2.39 | n.s. | 2.37 |
| Working on a job | 1.70 | 2.22 | .01 | 2.05 |
| Overall mean | 2.65 | 2.45 | .01 | 2.50 |

The magnitude of the means for each item is above 2, indicating that the sample as a whole would like to have more time for all of these activities, thus confirming the old adage that "Woman's work is never done." Within the activities, however, there were priorities, and doing more things with their children had first preference. Having more time for housework was second highest. Cooking and having more time for friends were a close third and fourth, while shopping was somewhat lower and time for working on a job was lowest on the list.

The employed wanted more time for all the activities listed than did the nonemployed, except for shopping, for which there were no differences, and for time on the job, for which the nonemployed wanted more time.

The three highest items for the employed had to do with homemaking tasks and wanting to spend more time with friends was fourth highest for them. For the nonemployed, time with friends was second highest. In other words, the employed wanted to spend more time in the home, and the nonemployed wanted to spend relatively more time with friends than with home activities. The employed needed more time for home tasks.

There were several significant interactions which clarified the differences between the employed and nonemployed about their time preferences for the homemaking activities. The three homemaking items had significant interactions for employment by welfare status and for employment by marital status for housework and cooking but not for shopping. All the interactions were in the same direction and the ones for the item of "work around the house" will be presented as illustrative.

Table H1.1a

Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status for the Item: "Would you like more time for housework: your work around the house?"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | 3.05 | 2.42 |
| Ex-welfare | 3.16 | 2.26 |

$p < .05$

Welfare status showed a different effect for the employed than for the nonemployed. Among the employed, the ex-welfare women wanted more time than the welfare, but among the nonemployed, it was the welfare group who wanted more time. The marital status interaction showed that the husband-absent women wanted more time than the husband-present among the employed, but among the nonemployed, it was the husband-present who wanted more time.

Table H1.1b

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item:
"Would you like more time for
housework: your work around the house?"

means

| | Employed | Nonemployed |
|---|---|---|
| Husband-absent | 3.13 | 2.36 |
| Husband-present | 3.05 | 2.41 |

$p < .05$

Combining the effects of these two tables, we note that the ex-welfare, husband-absent employed group wanted more time for housework than any other group. Forty-eight percent of them wanted "much more" time and only 3% of them wanted any less time.

### H1.2 Homemaking as a Source of Satisfaction

Did the employed not only want to spend more time with homemaking but did they also consider it more of a problem? For the problems or satisfactions with the job of homemaker, the question was asked, "How much of a problem or how much satisfaction is your work around the house: cooking, taking care of the house, and things like that?" Answers were on a five point scale from 0 = a very important problem to 4 = get a lot of satisfaction. The overall mean was 2.67. The employed were significantly less satisfied with their homemaking than the nonemployed (means = 2.38 vs. 2.82)***.

Table H1.2
Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status for the Item:
"How much of a problem or satisfaction is
your work around the house?"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | 2.41 | 2.76 |
| Ex-welfare | 2.34 | 2.99 |

$p < .07$

Although the p value was only .07, the interaction of welfare on employment showed that for the employed, being on welfare did not make a great deal of difference. Among the nonemployed, the welfare were somewhat more likely to be dissatisfied with their homemaking. When general problems were too great, the house suffered and reflected some of the general disorganization. Mrs. K. was never much for trying to keep things up. She says, "There have always been too many things I wanted to get out and do for me to be real good at taking care of the house." Welfare records indicate that the home was generally in a state of disorder. Moving twenty-two times further added to the disorganization. For some women homemaking was not satisfying and they were not good at it whether or not they worked. Although Mrs. B feels that her "housekeeping has suffered" since she began working, her case worker thinks it has stayed about the same. Rooms are cluttered with old clothes, dirty dishes, empty bottles, and a variety of bugs running across the garbage strewn floor. Mrs. B makes no apologies about the condition of her home saying, "People who don't like it can leave." Her laundry is not done at home since her automatic washer broke down several months ago. With nine children, it piles up fast and she finds it hard to keep up with. She freely admits that she has never been one for cleaning. She says she is "just the opposite" of her mother whose house is "like a museum." For Mrs. B, whether working or not, "cleaning is last on the list. All I can do about it is worry."

## H1.3 Comments about Homemaker Attitudes

This series of items has shown that the women of our sample as a whole would like to be able to plan their time in different ways than they now seem able to do, mostly spending more of it in home related areas.

Large differences have been shown between the employed and the nonemployed with the employed wanting more time for the home activities and their children while the nonemployed would also like more time with children, but would like more time for a job and appeared more satisfied with the time available for the home.

When we note that over 10% of the working women were on their jobs more than 40 hours a week and about 70% worked 31 to 41 hours per week, it is not surprising that these women would be interested in a little less work and more time with their children and friends. Since the working women would like more time for all the activities we inquired about except for work, it is seen that work itself took so much time that other things did not get the time women would like.

For the employed women who found their homemaking a problem, as nearly a third did, we cannot with assurance say which is cause and which effect. Some of these employed women might be those whose burdens at home were very great and with the addition of the time at work they realistically did have a problem. Others might have very high standards of housekeeping which they were not able to maintain while at work and this may be perceived as a problem. Still others may indeed be the women who disliked housework under any circumstances and found it a problem whether they were working or not.

The next section,"qualities of the home,"may shed some light on this dilemma.

## H2 Qualities of the Home

This section explores the qualities of the home itself as barriers to employment. How did having a house which was harder to clean, more crowded, and had inadequate storage space relate to the women's employment? The home will be examined first from the perspective of the women, and secondly from a set of ratings made by the interviewer.

### H2.1 Ease of Home Care

Our respondents were asked the question, "How easy or difficult do you find it is to care for your home?" The answers were from 0 = very difficult to 3 = very easy. The overall mean was 1.72 and there was a significant difference between the employed and the nonemployed with the nonemployed reporting that they found it easier to care for their homes (means = 1.50 vs. 1.83)***. The way the question was asked it was possible for the women to focus on the ease or difficulty of dealing with the home, thought of as a house, or to focus on the respondent herself and think how easy or difficult it was for her to care for her home. The direction of the means helps us understand how the women interpreted this question.

The interaction between employment and marital status had a different effect on each of the employment groups.

Table H2.1

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item:
"How easy is it to care for your home?"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Husband-absent | 1.45 | 1.86 |
| Husband-present | 1.57 | 1.79 |

$p < .05$

Among the employed, not having a man to help with the work made it more difficult to get the work done, but among the nonemployed having a husband made it more difficult.

In the next section, some of the details about home care will be explored to determine the kinds of problems the women had with their housing.

## H2.2 Women's Rating of Their Housing

Problems of the house itself as perceived by the women were explored in this section in order to elaborate the finding that the employed found their house more difficult to care for.

The respondents were asked to rate their homes on certain dimensions using a five point scale from 0 = terrible to 4 = very good. The first three items refer to the inside of the house and the next three to the relationship between the house and its ecology.

Table H2.2

Employment Effect for the Item:

How is your house for each of the following?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Inside of house | | | | |
| Convenience of your kitchen | 2.67 | 2.78 | .10 | 2.74 |
| Enough space so you don't feel crowded | 2.73 | 2.74 | n.s. | 2.73 |
| Enough storage space | 2.26 | 2.22 | n.s. | 2.23 |
| Overall mean | 2.55 | 2.58 | n.s. | 2.57 |
| Home ecology | | | | |
| Close to places you go | 3.29 | 3.02 | .001 | 3.11 |
| Kind of neighborhood | 2.91 | 2.79 | .10 | 2.83 |
| Convenient to work | 3.13 | 2.61 | .001 | 2.78 |
| Overall mean | 3.11 | 2.61 | .01 | 2.91 |

The grouped means for the inside of the home and for home ecology showed that the inside of the house was more of a problem to the women than was the relationship between the house and its environment.

## H2.21 Inside the home

The convenience of the kitchen was the only item which approached significance between the employed and the nonemployed, with the difference in favor of the nonemployed having better kitchens. About one sixth of the women said their kitchens and total space were a problem to them. About one third said their kitchens were "very good." A significant second order interaction showed that the women in the employed, husband-absent, welfare group reported the worst kitchens (mean = 2.43), with 11% of them reporting their kitchens were terrible. Storage space was considered a problem by one third of the women and about one fourth said their storage was "very good."

For all three items concerned with the inside convenience of the house there were significant interactions between employment and marital status. Since all were in the same direction, the means for the one item on "space so you don't feel crowded" is presented as representative of all three, but also because this item is especially interesting in comparison with items previously presented.

Table H2.21

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item:
"How is your house in regard to space so you don't feel crowded?"

means

| | Employed | Nonemployed |
|---|---|---|
| Husband-absent | 2.59 | 2.81 |
| Husband present | 2.89 | 2.66 |

$p < .01$

In spite of the fact that data presented in the chapter on demography showed no difference in number of rooms or number of persons per room between the employed, husband-absent and husband-present women, the husband-absent women gave their homes a more negative rating on feelings of being crowded. The nonemployed, husband-absent group did not feel this crowding as much. This discrepancy cannot be a function of the actual crowding which comes with a husband because those with a husband did not feel the crowding as much.

### H2.22 Ecology of the House

The three items which dealt with the women's subjective ratings of the ecology of their homes show that there were significant differences between the two employment groups. The employed were more satisfied with their homes being close to the places they go and also more convenient to work. They were more satisfied with the neighborhood, yet this difference did not reach an acceptable significance level. In general, the overall means show that the women were satisfied with the location of their home.

Table H2.22

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item: "How convenient is your home for getting to work?"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Husband-absent | 3.21 | 2.45 |
| Husband-present | 3.14 | 2.77 |

$p < .02$

A significant interaction of marital status on employment shows that, although the husband-absent women in general found getting to work more difficult, the husband-absent, employed women more often reported their homes as being convenient to work.

## H2.3 Interviewer's Rating of the House

Following the interview, the interviewer rated the outside and inside of the house on a number of items.* This was to give an outsider's impression of the maintenance and appearance of the outside and the condition and care of the inside of the house. Table H2.3 summarizes the ratings comparing the employed with the nonemployed women's homes. Ratings were on a three point scale, 0 to 2, with better condition in every case having a higher score.

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*Developed by Professor Earl Morris, College of Human Ecology, Cornell University.

Table H2.3

Employment Effect for the Item:

Interviewer's rating of the house.

| Item | Employed | Non-employed | p | Overall means | % showing major problems |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Outside of house | | | | | |
| Is there any sagging or bulging of the outside walls or roof? | 1.56 | .93 | .001 | 1.48 | 16 |
| Are there holes, cracks, rotted, loose or missing materials on the foundation, outside walls or roof? | 1.36 | 1.20 | .001 | 1.21 | 21 |
| Is the paint on the outside in good condition? | 1.11 | .93 | .001 | .95 | 31 |
| Overall mean | 1.31 | 1.02 | .001 | 1.21 | 23 |
| Inside of house | | | | | |
| General care of house (fourpoint scale from 0 = exceptionally dirty to 3 = exceptionally clean) | 1.98 | 1.83 | .01 | 1.83 | 13 |
| Condition of furnishings: chairs, windows, window shades, cabinets | 1.46 | 1.30 | .001 | 1.35 | 19 |
| Condition of the paint on the inside surfaces | 1.24 | 1.08 | .001 | 1.12 | 28 |
| Overall mean | 1.56 | 1.40 | .001 | 1.45 | 20 |

These comparisons show that on the average the employed were living in homes that were in better repair and were better maintained, both outside and inside.

### H2.31 Interviewer's Rating of the Outside of the House

The two items concerned with the outside walls and foundation showed significant interactions of employment by welfare and since both showed the same directions, only one is presented.

Table H2.31

Interaction of Employment on Welfare Status for the Item: Interviewer's rating of foundation and outside walls.

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | 1.22 | 1.14 |
| Ex-welfare | 1.30 | 1.45 |

$p < .05$

The interactions show that among the employed women, being on or off welfare was not related to the condition of the outside of the house. Among the nonemployed the welfare women were living in homes in worse condition that were the ex-welfare women. There were no significant interactions on the item concerning the outside paint, but we note from the magnitude of the means that the condition of the outside paint was rated the lowest. The outside paint is the first feature of the outside of a house to show deterioration. Overall, about a quarter of the homes were in the problem category.

## H2.32 Interviewer's Rating of the Inside of the House

The three items concerned with the inside of the house all showed significant values for the employment by marital interaction. For every item there was no difference for the employed attributable to marital status but the nonemployed, husband-present group had much poorer inside conditions than did any of the other groups. The item about the condition of the paint inside the house is presented as representative of the others.

Table H2.32

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item: Condition of inside paint.

| | Employed | Nonemployed |
|---|---|---|
| | means | |
| Husband-absent | 1.26 | 1.18 |
| Husband-present | 1.22 | .97 |

$p < .05$

Janet Fitchen's report of Road Junction, a rural pocket of poverty, in volume 3 of this report, describes some of the problems rural women had with housekeeping.

> Many tasks in housework take more of the woman's time not only because there is a lot to do, but also because the equipment with which she does these chores is substandard. For example, having to do a lot of laundry by heating the water on the stove, even drawing the water from an outdoor source, doing it in an old wringer washer, and hanging it up to dry may take large blocks of time. Even the laundromat solution is not much help, as this involves a big trip -- the nearest laundromat is about 4 miles away, but many women don't patronize this one because of difficult relationships with the proprietor, and so must go over 15 miles away -- often taking 10 or more machine loads at a time. Many women do not cut the corners in housework that a middle class mother might -- for example, their children may wear clean clothes to school more often than affluent children...the cooking may take more time without adequate appliances and kitchen aids. And water may have to be hauled in from outdoors, or from a good spring source 4 miles away, to be used for cooking and drinking. The cleaning of the house, also, is difficult: the clutter of stuff--clothes, laundry, car parts, etc. -- in the house, due to lack of closet space and other storage facilities requires the housewife to spend a lot of time just picking up. Then she attempts to clean the cleared-off surfaces -- floors of bare, rough wood or cement or linoleum with holes and patches -- with inadequate tools, usually no

> vacuum cleaner. She may also have to tend to the heating system -- fetching kerosene, filling the heater, tinkering with it.

### H2.4 Comments about Qualities of the Home

These comparisons have helped explicate the conditions of the homes that the women find easy or difficult to care for. From the interviewer's ratings it is clear that for some this must be a very disheartening task: trying to cope with too many children, sagging walls, peeling paint and broken furniture. It would be interesting to see what would happen if these women could start in a new home and be given instructions and help in keeping it up. What would happen to their self concept, to their health, to their ability to enjoy their homemaking, and to their interest in and ability to cope with employment.

In addition to better housing, many of the nonemployed women need help with the care of their homes prior to their readiness for employment.

The findings in regard to subjective space, in which the employed husband-absent women felt more crowded, although by objective criteria they are not more crowded, may give insight into their personalities. It could be hypothesized that these were women who were interested in being persons in their own right, and were not interested in the traditional female passivity. They may have needed room to be a "person" in. That this might indeed be the case was borne out by the finding that this was the group highest in personal ambition. Their territoriality needs may be greater.

The poor condition of the homes of the nonemployed, husband-present women reflects the adverse circumstances in which some of these women found themselves. Their husbands had been able to support the family without assistance, if not now, at least in the recent past. These families had the most children and the women had a husband as well as the children to care for.

The finding that the presently welfare employed women had homes little different from the ex-welfare employed refutes the stereotype of the negative housekeeping habits of the welfare woman - at least for those employed. Perhaps this group knows better how to use the help of other members of the family.

Some women will not be able to cope with the home and employment until their home is more mechanized. Mrs J, for instance, prepares meals for a large family using a coal stove to economize on electricity. She appears to have given up on any attempts to serve the family together. The interviewer observed the younger children coming and going in the kitchen apparently fixing themselves sandwiches whenever they got hungry. She says it is hard getting them all together for a meal. "One's going out and the other's not hungry or something comes up."

## H3 Help with Homemaking

This section is divided into the findings about the areas where help is received, the sources of this help, and the woman's preferences for help.

### H3.1 Areas of Help with the Homemaking Task: the Woman's Preferences for Help

The material reported so far has indicated that women who go to work find less satisfaction and want to spend more time with their homemaking tasks to get it done, although their housing tends to be better.

Aside from being more efficient, or from just doing less, the best way to get more done in the home would be to get help. Most working women of low income get additional help from the husband, if they have one, or from their children. Few people of low income get help from paid employees for anything but child care. The regular care of the home is still a task for the family, and primarily the woman, to do.

The present study investigated the amount of help a working woman got in contrast with the received amount by the nonemployed woman. Table H3.1 summarizes the results when the women were asked to indicate the amount of help they got with the various household tasks. Responses were coded on a five point scale with 0 = no help, 1 = a little help, 2 = some help, 3 = a lot of help, and 4 = others do it all.

Table H3.1

Effects of Employment on the Items:

"How much help do you get on the following household tasks?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall means |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| House repair and outside work | 2.29 | 2.27 | n.s. | 2.27 |
| Housework | 1.95 | 1.55 | .001 | 1.68 |
| Care of children | 1.68 | 1.18 | .001 | 1.34 |
| Care of clothing | 1.44 | 1.21 | .001 | 1.28 |
| Shopping | 1.25 | 1.25 | n.s. | 1.25 |
| Food preparation | 1.48 | 1.03 | .001 | 1.17 |
| Overall mean | 1.68 | 1.03 | .001 | 1.17 |

The women were most likely to receive help on gardening and housework and least liable to receive help on food preparation, shopping, and clothing. Only on the outside work of gardening and repair work was there any major assistance; 29% of our total sample reported that this work was done entirely by someone else. Only 1% reported that "all" of any other job was done by someone else, except 2% reported that shopping was done entirely by someone else. On the five homemaking items, the mean of each was between 1 and 2, indicating help between "a little" and "some."

Help with the outside work of house repairs, chores, and gardening showed the most amount of help with no difference between the employed and the nonemployed. The employed women reported they got more help on homemaking tasks than the nonemployed (means 1.95 vs. 1.55)***. Employed women got more help with care of clothing than did the nonemployed. There were no differences between employment groups in help with shopping. The means indicate that practically all the shopping was done by the women themselves although much of this task could certainly be done by others.

Food preparation appears to be the major task of the homemaker which was more frequently done completely by her (40% overall report "no help") and frequently cited by women as being an activity for which they would like more time. There were significant differences between employment groups, with the employed getting more help.

In summary, it is interesting to look at the summed variable resulting from putting together all of the items on help with these household tasks. The overall mean for this comparison was 1.50 showing that the average woman was getting "little help." There were significant differences between employment groups (means 1.68 vs. 1.41)***, with the employed getting more help.

### H3.2 Sources of Help

Did working women get more help from their husband and children to ease the double burden or did they tend to do all the work themselves? What part did other family members have?

The women were asked how much help they received with their housework from their husband, children, and others. Responses were coded: 0 = no help, 1 = a little, 2 = some, and 3 = a lot. The overall mean for help given by children was 1.93, indicating that on the average the women got "some" help from their children. The amount of help given by the husband was computed only for those women with a husband in the home. The mean was found to be 1.68, less than the help from children. The mean for help from others was .34, indicating that very little help was given by others. The employed got more help from their husband (means = 1.79 vs. 1.63)**.

There was a significant interaction of welfare and employment among the husband-present which helped to show the amount of help the working women got from their husbands.

Table H3.2

Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status for the Item: Amount of help with housework by husbands.

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | 1.90 | 1.59 |
| Ex-welfare | 1.71 | 1.68 |

$p < .05$

The interaction shows that there was little difference between the two ex-welfare groups, but that there was considerable difference in the help the two groups of welfare women got.

The information about husband's help is made more understandable by reporting information about husband's employment, which also appears in the chapter, "Woman as Wife."

Table H3.2a

Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status Among the Husband-Present for the Item:

"Full time employment of husbands."

(Percent)

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | 40 | 45 |
| Ex-welfare | 73 | 72 |

$p <$ n.s.

From this table it can be seen that the ex-welfare husbands were much more apt to be working than were the welfare husbands. These men were apparently giving their wives "some help" whether or not the wife was working. Among the welfare husbands, where many fewer were working, it appeared that if the wife was not working, the husband gave even less help than the ex-welfare. If the welfare woman was working, it looked as though there was a potential for role reversal with the husband helping out more in the home. Apparently women's work is still women's work, unless a husband is disabled or willing to take on the role of househusband. Apparently 35% of the welfare employed women's husbands were willing to do "a lot," while only 23% of the nonemployed welfare were willing to do "a lot."

## H3.3 Preferences for Help

Did women want to do the household tasks by themselves or did they want help from other family members. Was the desire for help stronger for the employed or did they feel that working out of the home was not "women's work" and they were supposed to do the work in the home by themselves.

### H3.31 Preferences for help from Children

For the question, "How do you feel about your child or children helping at home?" the answers were directly related to the working situation. On a three point scale a 0 code read, "My children should not be expected to do more housework just because I work," a 1 code read,"Children should help out a little bit more when I am holding a job," and the 2 code read, "My children should help out quite a lot more with the housework when I am holding a job." Women not working were asked to respond as they would if they were working. The overall mean was 1.27 and two thirds of the women expected their children to help none or only a bit more. The employed women thought children should help less when they go to work than did the nonemployed (means 1.21 vs. 1.30)**.

Women who feel they are working for their own personal satisfactions, like Mrs. C, often feel strongly that their children should not suffer because of their employment. Mrs. C says, "I probably let my kids get away with doing less than if I was just staying at home all day." As one of the women put it, "My children shouldn't suffer because I have to work." By suffer she meant help with the housework!

### H3.32 Preferences for help from the Husband

When women were asked the question, "Should men be expected to help with the housework?" on a 5 point scale ranging from 0 to 4, the overall mean came just a little above the midpoint, 2.22. There was a significant difference between the employed and the nonemployed with the employed feeling that men should help more (means = 2.53 vs. 2.07).

Table H3.32

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item: "Should men be expected to help with the housework?"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Husband-absent | 2.45 | 2.23 |
| Husband-present | 2.62 | 1.97 |

$p < .08$

The interaction showed that there was a tendency for the employed women with a husband to think that men should help more and for the nonemployed with a husband to think that men should help less. Being home and not working, they felt they had no right to ask him for help, while the working women with a husband felt he should help.

When the items asking whether men and children should help with the housework were correlated with satisfaction with housework and with being employed, the belief that men should help was positively correlated (.07) with satisfaction with a job while it was negatively correlated (-.07) with satisfaction with housework. There was no relationship between satisfaction with a job and the question about children helping, but satisfaction with housework was again negatively related (-.07) to belief that children should help. Apparently those who were satisfied with their housework would like to do the job themselves and do not want the help of other family members.

### H3.4 Comments about Help with Homemaking Tasks

From these comparisons it can be seen that the women's load is heavy in most of the households, and many women were carrying the traditional areas of female concern with little help. No wonder many would like more time! Even the women who were not working outside of the home had problems keeping up with the work around the house. One woman, when writing comments about the question, summarized her problem as, "9 people, 12 rooms; 1 mother, 1 broom."

For some women, housework was a hated part of existence whether they were working or not. One of the case study women reported that the best time of the day was when she was sleeping or working. The worst part of the day was when she was thinking about what was facing her at home after work. She saw weekends as an extension of household drudgery, relieved in part by family activities. She hated housework with a vengeance, and being tied down to only home responsibilities made her "stir crazy." She found it very difficult to get her children to help with the housework. Her feelings seemed to be that her children did not give her the cooperation and recognition she should have and she felt "put upon like a servant." Here was a mother who was carrying too many of the tasks with "no help" and would not like more time but would like more help.

If a woman goes out to work there is a great deal of work to be done by the woman in the home after her work for wages is finished. As the numbers in the family decreased there may be less to do, but for some it must still be a great load.

The problems of the employed women were well represented by the answer one woman gave to the request for an explanation after she indicated that caring for the house was her most important problem. She said,

> My mother and oldest daughter take care of the children but when I get home it takes time to cook, wash, iron, and prepare them for bed. The housework is often abandoned.

This woman would be glad to accept either more time or more help, preferably help.

The employed women did report getting more help on the average in food preparation, child care, clothing and housework, but did not get more help with shopping or the outside work. Even though the working woman gets help, the amount of this help for many women is perceived as only "a little" or "some" and in most homes any contribution by the husband or children is perceived as help with "her" work. Many women fully accepted this. The husband and children should help more. As a matter of fact, those women without the ideology of help from others were more satisfied.

Although employed mothers got more help from their children, and this finding is in accord with the subjective reports made by mothers in many other studies, one wonders whether the actual amount of contribution by the children was any more for the working mothers. Since working women did not believe that children should help any more when they were working than did nonemployed women, it would be strange to find that in actual time spent their children did more than the children of nonemployed mothers.

The husband-present families on the average had two more members and were more apt to own their own homes, which demanded upkeep, traditionally a man's job. With the added work load in the husband-present families, it is a question not answered here as to which group of women had more to do - even with the additional help offered by the husband. The employed women did not get more help from their husbands than did the nonemployed and it is worth asking why not. The question will be discussed further in the chapter on the working woman as wife.

Since time for housework inevitably becomes less when a woman goes to work, the only way to make up the difference is by greater efficiency or by more help. Programs giving women training for jobs need to discuss how the home can be better managed. Women need to be given help in how to be efficient homemakers - how to use short cuts and convenience items. More than this, their guilt about getting help from children should be dealt with. Since it is difficult to supervise and teach children to do work one can do faster and easier oneself, job training also could include discussion of child management to help children become better helpers. The gains to children if the mother works could be discussed to allay the guilt.

## H4 Problems of Food Shopping and Work

There are three parts to this section: the effects of employment on food preparation, the effects of employment on food costs, and the overall expenditures for food.

### H4.1 Effects of Employment on Food Preparation

When there are tasks to be performed they can be done by the use of time, energy, or money. The latter can be used to buy the time and energy (and often know-how) of others. When a woman goes to work it might be expected that she might spend some of her money to compensate for the time and energy she would spend accomplishing the tasks if she stayed at home. With this in mind it has been proposed that the woman going to work needs additional funds for the expenses of working. Employed women in our sample were asked, "In what ways does working make a difference in how you shop for and prepare food? When you work, do you...?" The similar question for the nonemployed women was, "Would your working make any difference in how you shop for and prepare food?" Table H4.1 shows the items and p values for the comparisons between the employed and nonemployed. The responses were coded: 0 = No, 1 = Yes.

Table H4.1

Employment Effect for the Item:

"In what ways does working make a difference in how you shop for and prepare food?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Less time to prepare good meals? | .51 | .61 | .001 | .58 |
| Use more convenience foods? | .54 | .56 | n.s. | .55 |
| Have less time to shop for bargains and bulk buying? | .40 | .46 | .05 | .44 |
| Eat out more? | .09 | .16 | .001 | .14 |
| Shop in more expensive places? | .04 | .05 | n.s. | .05 |
| Total | 1.58 | 1.84 | .001 | 1.76 |

The results of this question are very revealing since the employed women were reporting what they actually did and the nonworking women were reporting what they "would" do, thus, we might say, indicating what they wish they could do more of if they had more money. Every one of the significant comparisons showed that the nonemployed "would" do more of what was asked than the working women actually reported they did because of their working.

Since all of these questions were "no"-"yes" questions, the means represent the percent of women in each group who said "yes" to the question. It is interesting that over 50% of the workers and nonworkers did (or would) use more convenience foods with no difference between the two groups. Over half of the workers and 61% of the nonworkers would take less time for the preparation of good meals. Cutting down on the time needed to prepare food by using convenience foods and by preparing less complicated meals may indeed be the ways women manage to keep their families fed on the reduced time they had after their working hours were taken out of the day. In this way, money was exchanged for time and maybe for quality.

Forty percent of the workers and 46% of the nonworkers said they would have less time to shop for bargains. Only 9% of the workers said they ate out more but 16% of the nonworkers said they would eat out more. For the hardpressed housewife the luxury of having additional money to be able to eat out more is surely very appealing, but apparently not done very frequently by those who were working.

Only an average of 5% of the total sample would resort to shopping in more expensive places, a procedure which saved neither time nor money.

For the workers one might say there was not as much change as the nonemployed had expected. Two of the significant items were barriers expected by the nonemployed more than the employed found in practice: less time to fix food and higher costs because they could not get as many bargains.

There was one significant interaction of employment by welfare status for the item on working resulting in less time for finding food bargains.

Table H4.1a

Interaction of Employment on Welfare Status for the Item:

"When you work, do you have less time to shop for bargains or do bulk buying?"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | .41 | .50 |
| Ex-welfare | .39 | .35 |

$p < .05$

Although there was no welfare effect for the employed, more of the nonemployed welfare expected that they would have less time for food bargain hunting than did the nonemployed ex-welfare.

## H4.2 Effect of Employment on Food Costs

When the question was asked of both groups, "Does (would) working make any difference in how much money you spend on food?" scored on a three point scale of 0 = "less," 1 = "same," 2 = "more," there was a significant difference between the employed and nonemployed (means 1.37 vs. 1.51)***. The direction of this difference showed that the nonemployed anticipated more increase than the employed actually experienced. Both groups expected that employment would increase the cost of food (mean = 1.46).

## H4.3 Financial Expenditures for Food

When we compared the actual amount reported spent for groceries "last week," it was found that the employed and nonemployed groups did not differe more than a few cents from the overall mean of \$40.04. Since the groups did not differ in amount it is important to look at numbers of persons who were being fed. In the demography section it was reported that the employed had an average of .5 persons less in the family. With the same expenditure, those in the smaller families are eating better food or else are paying for convenience foods.

### H4.4 Comments on Problems of Food Shopping and Preparation

These comparisons have given some insight into the food practices of the employed and the desires or fears of the nonemployed.

The employed spent more per person than did the nonemployed and probably had a more nutritious diet. They seemed to be using convenience foods and preparing less fancy meals to cut time on this task but they were not spending lavishly on meals out in restaurants.

The responses of the nonemployed may be thought of as anticipated fears by these women so that working becomes less desirable, but we can also interpret their responses as being to some extent unrealistic about the additional costs of going to work. If they think the costs are going to be high they might be less willing to entertain the thoughts of getting a job. These women, on the average, are managing to feed their families on less money than the employed, but they themselves, and we presume their family also, are not getting as much meat and other needed foods which will be discussed later. It was not possible to tell from our data whether the added cost per person among the employed groups could be attributed to the use of convenience foods with their higher cost rather than to the purchasing of more nutritive food. Either outcome would be a positive one in relation to going to work and women should be given this information.

Though many of the employed women must be coming home very tired, the pattern is definitely not one of getting food from a restaurant rather than doing the cooking herself. Additional income to allow this might be welcome but one wonders whether this would be the first choice of a working woman if she did have additional money to spend. Restaurant eating is more expensive than eating at home and is more expensive as the size of the family increases. From a policy standpoint, the employed women studied here were not spending a large amount for restaurant food and are managing their cooking at home. An additional grant for restaurant food, beyond minimal lunch, does not seem as warranted as additional money for more convenience foods.

## H5 Nutrition Knowledge: Food Beliefs and Fallacies

This section was prepared by Daphne A. Roe, M.D., Associate Professor of the Graduate School of Nutrition at Cornell University.

It is accepted that a mother's ability to feed herself and her family well is dependent on her basic nutrition knowledge as well as on her food related practices. In the present population of women, it was conceived that those who were ignorant and living in social isolation might eat less well and find difficulty in coping with the problems of food purchasing and preparation. Conversely factors which would bring these women into contact with general sources of information such as school attendance, adult education, community activity, work and upward social mobility would widen their ideas about nutrition and improve food habits.

Two approaches were made to the assessment of nutrition knowledge, viz: the sample were presented with common fallacies about food and also were asked whether common dietary items were good sources of protein. Belief in food folklore as well as misinformation about the nutritional value of foods may have economic significance in that a woman may buy a more expensive food because she thinks the cheaper equivalent is less wholesome. Over and above these considerations, documentation of factors which limit ability to cope with the common necessities of life, such as food related items, may be important in predicting group characteristics of women who are unable to get away from a cycle of poverty and economic dependence.

Acceptance or refutation of food fallacies showed significant group differences according to education, income, employment status, and voting behavior (Tables H5 - H5c). In order to understand the distribution of responses, the food fallacies can be divided into three groups: ancient folklore such as that hot food is better than cold food; modern cost-related or taste-related errors such as that regular milk contains more vitamins or is more nutritious than dry milk; and general misinformation, which is widely held such as that cheese causes constipation.

Fallacies in the first two categories show group differentiation which was not observable in the third category. In the correlation matrix, it was shown that denial of these fallacies was significantly related to age, employment and income, being greater in the younger women, in those who were working and in those of higher income. Statistical cross tabulation of variables gave important information. The percentage distribution of responses by eight employment, marital, and welfare groups of the total sample to the statement that hot food is better than cold food showed that employed women, whether on welfare or ex-welfare were less likely to accept the fallacy than those who were unemployed. The groups that gave the most correct answers were employed women with the husband present (Table H5d).Schooling was particularly important in determining whether this fallacy was believed or not;

### Table H5

### Percent Correct Responses for Four Nutrition Knowledge Questions by Educational Level

| Question | Educational Level<br>0-1 | 2-3 | 4-5 | 6-7 | 8=9 | 10-11 | 12-13 | 14-15 | 16-17 | Total | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hot food is better than cold | 0 | 33 | 6 | 12 | 15 | 24 | 36 | 47 | 56 | 25 | .001 |
| Regular milk has more vitamins than dry milk | 0 | 22 | 3 | 16 | 28 | 32 | 48 | 63 | 78 | 35 | .001 |
| Cheese causes constipation | 20 | 38 | 49 | 36 | 45 | 53 | 60 | 73 | 78 | 52 | .001 |
| Gravy is a good source of protein | 0 | 29 | 37 | 37 | 53 | 63 | 75 | 77 | 78 | 62 | .001 |
| Overall mean | 5 | 29 | 24 | 25 | 35 | 43 | 55 | 65 | 73 | 44 | .001 |
| N | 7 | 9 | 35 | 94 | 319 | 391 | 425 | 30 | 9 | 1319 | |

### Table H5a

| Income | Question<br>Hot food is better than cold | Regular milk has more vitamins than dry milk | Cheese causes constipation | Gravy is a good source of protein | Overall mean | N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| $0-1900 | 19 | 29 | 43 | 57 | 37 | 73 |
| $2-2900 | 26 | 28 | 52 | 61 | 42 | 176 |
| $3-3900 | 23 | 52 | 51 | 61 | 42 | 269 |
| $4-4900 | 23 | 35 | 54 | 63 | 44 | 246 |
| $5-5900 | 21 | 34 | 53 | 60 | 42 | 174 |
| $6-6900 | 22 | 36 | 53 | 57 | 42 | 110 |
| $7-7900 | 23 | 46 | 48 | 71 | 47 | 83 |
| $8-8900 | 40 | 62 | 51 | 71 | 56 | 55 |
| $9-9900 | 33 | 37 | 67 | 77 | 54 | 30 |
| $10,000+ | 35 | 37 | 58 | 63 | 48 | 104 |
| Total | 25 | 35 | 52 | 62 | 44 | 1320 |
| p | .05 | .001 | n.s. | n.s. | n.s. | |

### Table H5b

### Percent Correct Responses for Four Nutrition Knowledge Questions by Employment, Welfare, and Marital Status

| | Welfare | | | | Ex-welfare | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | nonemployed | | employed | | nonemployed | | employed | | | |
| Questions | Ha | Hp | Ha | Hp | Ha | Hp | Ha | Hp | Total | p |
| Hot food is better than cold | 22 | 17 | 39 | 33 | 20 | 26 | 30 | 38 | 38 | .001 |
| Regular milk has more vitamins than dry milk | 30 | 28 | 33 | 37 | 38 | 40 | 55 | 49 | 35 | .001 |
| Cheese causes constipation | 49 | 46 | 57 | 56 | 46 | 59 | 61 | 56 | 62 | .05 |
| Gravy is a good source of protein | 61 | 51 | 66 | 65 | 56 | 69 | 67 | 72 | 62 | .001 |
| Overall mean | 41 | 36 | 46 | 48 | 40 | 49 | 53 | 54 | 44 | .001 |

### Table H5c

### Percent Correct Responses for Four Nutrition Knowledge Questions by Voting Behavior in Last Presidential Election

| | Voting | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Questions | No | Yes | Total | p |
| Hot food is better than cold food | 20 | 39 | 25 | .001 |
| Regular milk has more vitamins than dry milk | 29 | 41 | 35 | .001 |
| Cheese causes constipation | 49 | 56 | 52 | .01 |
| Gravy is a good source of protein | 57 | 58 | 62 | .01 |
| Overall mean | 39 | 49 | 44 | .001 |

the less education the women had received, the more they accepted the fallacy and vice-versa (Table H5e). Similarly those with higher incomes tended to dismiss the statement as false and here it may be noted that those with incomes above $8,000.00/ annum gave significantly more correct answers (Table H5f). Another interesting finding was that more women that refuted the fallacy had voted in the last election (Table H5g).

The grouping of responses was rather similar to the statement that regular milk contains more vitamins than dry milk, but there were certain differences which must be emphasized. This fallacy was believed significantly less by employed than nonemployed women and least by ex-welfare employed women (Table H5h). Education played an important role in determining the correct answer and of those who had completed high school and received higher education more than 60% refuted the statement, whereas in those that completed grade school only, 16% thought that the statement was false (Table H5i). Income did not play such an important role in determining the correct answer though those in the very low income groups, viz: below $3,000.00/ annum gave more incorrect answers (Table H5j). Voting in the last election was answered negatively by 71% of those who accepted the milk fallacy and by only 29% of those who rejected this statement (Table H5k).

Coming to the assertion that cheese causes constipation, in the welfare group more of the employed women thought that this was false (Table H5l). Education was again a determinant of true or false responses; those with more education tended to reject the statement (Table H5m). Income did not influence the responses significantly (Table H5n). The distribution of responses showed that the women were uncertain of the correct answer as anticipated. Non-voting in the last election was slightly higher in those that accepted the fallacy (Table H5o).

Correlation between the milk fallacy and the amount of milk consumed or between the cheese fallacy and the amount of

## Table H5d

### Percentage Distribution of Responses of Eight Employment Marital and Welfare Categories to Item: "Hot food is better than cold"

| Response | nonemployed | | employed | | nonemployed | | employed | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Categories | Ha | Hp | Ha | Ha | Ha | Hp | Ha | Hp | Total |
| True | 78 | 83 | 71 | 67 | 80 | 74 | 70 | 62 | 75 |
| False | 22 | 17 | 29 | 33 | 20 | 26 | 30 | 38 | 25 |

Chi Sq. = 25.77
d.f. = 7
p <.001

## Table H5e

### Cross Tabulation of Responses to Education and Hot Food Better than Cold (Percent Distribution)

| | Response | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Education | True | False | Total |
| 0 | 100.00 | 0.00 | 2 |
| 1 | 100.00 | 0.00 | 5 |
| 2-3 | 66.67 | 33.33 | 9 |
| 4-5 | 94.29 | 5.71 | 35 |
| 6-7 | 88.30 | 11.70 | 94 |
| 8-9 | 84.64 | 15.36 | 319 |
| 10-11 | 76.47 | 23.53 | 391 |
| 12-13 | 64.47 | 35.53 | 425 |
| 14-15 | 53.33 | 46.67 | 30 |
| 16-17 | 44.44 | 55.56 | 9 |
| 18-19 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0 |
| Sub-total | 75.21 | 24.79 | 1319 |
| Undefined | 0.00 | 100.00 | 1 |
| Grand total | 75.15 | 24.85 | 1320 |

Chi Sq. = 72.23
d.f.= 10
p <.001

### Table H5f

### Cross Tabulation of Responses to Total Income and Hot Food Better than Cold (Percent Distribution)

| Income | Response<br>True | <br>False | <br>Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| $0-1900 | 80.82 | 19.18 | 73 |
| $2-2900 | 73.86 | 26.14 | 176 |
| $3-3900 | 76.58 | 23.42 | 269 |
| $4-4900 | 76.83 | 23.17 | 246 |
| $5-5900 | 78.74 | 21.26 | 174 |
| $6-6900 | 78.18 | 21.82 | 110 |
| $7-7900 | 77.11 | 22.89 | 83 |
| $8-8900 | 60.00 | 40.00 | 55 |
| $9.9900 | 66.67 | 33.33 | 30 |
| $10,000+ | 65.38 | 34.62 | 104 |
| Sub-total | 75.15 | 24.85 | 1320 |

Chi Sq. = 17.22
d.f. = 9
$p < .05$

### Table H5g

### Cross Tabulation of Responses to Voting and Hot Food Better than Cold (Percent Distribution)

| Response | Vote in last election<br>No | <br>Yes | Sub-total | Undefined | Grand Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| True | 79.49 | 70.78 | 75.15 | 0.00 | 75.15 |
| False | 20.51 | 29.22 | 24.05 | 0.00 | 24.85 |
| Total | 663 | 657 | 1320 | 0 | 1320 |

Chi Sq. = 12.95
d.f. = 1
$p < .001$

## Table H5h

### Percentage Distribution of Responses of Eight Employment, Marital, and Welfare Categories to Item:

### "Regular Milk has more vitamins than dry milk"

| Response | Welfare | | | | Ex-welfare | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | nonemployed | | employed | | nonemployed | | employed | | |
| Categories | Ha | Hp | Ha | Hp | Ha | Hp | Ha | Hp | Tota |
| True | 70 | 72 | 67 | 63 | 62 | 60 | 45 | 51 | 65 |
| False | 30 | 28 | 33 | 37 | 38 | 40 | 55 | 49 | 35 |

Chi Sq. = 35.77
d.f. = 7
$p < .001$

## Table H5i

### Cross Tabulation of Responses to Education and Regular Milk has more Vitamins than Dry Milk (Percent Distribution)

| Education | Response True | Response False | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | 100.00 | 0.00 | 2 |
| 1 | 100.00 | 0.00 | 5 |
| 2-3 | 77.78 | 22.22 | 9 |
| 4-5 | 97.14 | 2.86 | 35 |
| 6-7 | 84.04 | 15.96 | 94 |
| 8-9 | 71.75 | 28.25 | 315 |
| 10-11 | 68.21 | 31.79 | 390 |
| 12-13 | 52.36 | 47.64 | 424 |
| 14-15 | 36.67 | 63.33 | 30 |
| 16-17 | 22.22 | 77.78 | 9 |
| 18-19 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0 |
| Sub-Total | 65.04 | 34.96 | 1313 |
| Undefined | 100.00 | 0.00 | 1 |
| Grand Total | 65.07 | 34.93 | 1314 |

Chi Sq. = 91.01
d.f. = 10
$p < .001$

## Table H5j

### Cross Tabulation of Responses to Total Income and Regular Milk has more Vitamins than Dry Milk (Percent Distribution)

| Income | Response<br>True | <br>False | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| $0-1900 | 70.83 | 29.17 | 72 |
| $2-2900 | 72.25 | 27.75 | 173 |
| $3-3900 | 68.40 | 31.60 | 269 |
| $4-4900 | 65.45 | 34.55 | 246 |
| $5-5900 | 66.09 | 33.91 | 174 |
| $6-6900 | 63.64 | 36.36 | 110 |
| $7-7900 | 54.22 | 45.78 | 83 |
| $8-8900 | 38.18 | 61.82 | 55 |
| $9-9900 | 63.33 | 36.67 | 30 |
| $10,000+ | 62.75 | 37.25 | 102 |
| Sub-Total | 65.07 | 34.93 | 1314 |

Chi Sq. = 28.56
d.f. = 9
p <.001

## Table H5k

### Cross Tabulation of Responses to Voting and Regular Milk has more Vitamins than Dry Milk

### (Percent Distribution)

| Response | Vote in last election<br>No | <br>Yes | Sub-Total | Undefined | Grand Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| True | 71.06 | 59.02 | 65.07 | 0.00 | 65.07 |
| False | 28.94 | 40.98 | 34.93 | 0.00 | 34.93 |
| Total | 660 | 654 | 1314 | 0 | 1314 |

Chi Sq. = 20.42
d.f. = 1
p <.001

### Table H5l

### Percentage Distribution of Responses of Eight Employment, Marital, and Welfare Categories to Item:

### "Cheese Causes Constipation"

| | Welfare | | | | Ex-welfare | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Response | nonemployed | | employed | | nonemployed | | employed | | |
| Categories | Ha | Hp | Ha | Hp | Ha | Hp | Ha | Hp | Total |
| True | 51 | 54 | 43 | 44 | 54 | 41 | 39 | 44 | 48 |
| False | 49 | 46 | 57 | 56 | 46 | 59 | 61 | 56 | 52 |

Chi Sq. = 14.15
d.f. = 7
p <.05

### Table H5m

### Cross Tabulation of Responses to Education and Cheese Causes Constipation (Percent Distribution)

| | Response | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Education | True | False | Total |
| 0 | 0.00 | 100.00 | 2 |
| 1 | 80.00 | 20.00 | 5 |
| 2-3 | 66.67 | 33.33 | 9 |
| 4-5 | 51.43 | 48.57 | 35 |
| 6-7 | 63.83 | 36.17 | 94 |
| 8-9 | 54.86 | 45.14 | 319 |
| 10-11 | 46.92 | 53.08 | 390 |
| 12-13 | 40.33 | 59.67 | 424 |
| 14-15 | 26.67 | 73.33 | 30 |
| 16-17 | 22.22 | 77.78 | 9 |
| 18-19 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0 |
| Sub-Total | 47.61 | 52.39 | 1317 |
| Undefined | 100.00 | 0.00 | 1 |
| Grand Total | 47.65 | 52.35 | 1318 |

### Table H5n

### Cross Tabulation of Responses to Total Income and Cheese Causes Constipation (Percent Distribution)

| Income | Response<br>True | <br>False | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| $0-1900 | 57.53 | 42.47 | 73 |
| $2-2900 | 47.73 | 52.27 | 176 |
| $3-3900 | 48.88 | 51.12 | 268 |
| $4-4900 | 46.12 | 53.88 | 245 |
| $5-5900 | 47.13 | 52.87 | 174 |
| $6-6900 | 47.27 | 52.73 | 110 |
| $7-7900 | 51.81 | 48.19 | 83 |
| $8-8900 | 49.09 | 50.91 | 55 |
| $9-9900 | 33.33 | 66.67 | 30 |
| $10,000+ | 42.31 | 57.69 | 104 |
| Sub-Total | 47.65 | 52.35 | 1318 |

Chi Sq. = 7.55
d.f. = 9
$p < .7$

### Table H5o

### Cross Tabulation of Responses to Voting and Cheese Causes Constipation (Percent Distribution)

| Response | Vote in last election<br>No | <br>Yes | Sub-Total | Undefined | Grand Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| True | 51.29 | 43.99 | 47.65 | 0.00 | 47.65 |
| False | 48.71 | 56.01 | 52.35 | 0.00 | 52.35 |
| Total | 661 | 657 | 1318 | 0 | 1318 |

cheese consumed was not significant at the 5% level.

When the responses to questions about good sources of protein were analyzed it is notable that the sample, irrespective of any specific grouping, did have information on this subject (Table H5p). This fact is most apparent in the case of eggs where over 95% of the women, employed or nonemployed, welfare or ex-welfare, husband-present or husband-absent,believed correctly that they are a good source of protein (Table H5q). Neither education, income, nor voting significantly influenced the correctness of the answer (Tables H5r - H5t). These responses may be contrasted with those to the question as to whether gravy is a good source of protein, an assertion which is false. Here factorial grouping of responses is possible. In the welfare groups more employed women gave the correct answer than those unemployed but among the ex-welfare women, correctness of responses is determined not only by employment status but also by whether or not the husband is present; those women with a job and a husband in residence gave the most right answers (Table H5u). Education was also closely related to the true or false answers to this question with a steady decline in the percentage of women who believed gravy to be a good source of protein in those who had continued their schooling after the grade school years (Table H5v). The correct answer was not given more frequently by women in the higher income groups (Table H5w). Non-voting in the last election was more common in women who believed they could get protein from gravy (Table H5x).

### H5.1 Comments about Nutritional Knowledge

While this survey gives little indication of the extent of nutrition knowledge in the sample population, it has produced important information about the persistence of food folklore among certain segments of a low income population. Women who are educationally deprived, very poor, unemployed, and alone tend to believe stories that they have heard without

Table H5p

Percent of Correct Responses for Five Nutrition Questions

| Questions | Correct | Not correct | Correct response |
|---|---|---|---|
| Eggs are a good source of protein | 98 | 2 | true |
| Gravy is a good source of protein | 62 | 38 | false |
| Hot food is better for you than cold | 25 | 75 | false |
| Regular milk has more vitamins than dry mil | 35 | 65 | false |
| Cheese causes constipation | 52 | 48 | false |
| Overall correct responses | 54 | 46 | |

Table H5q

Percentage Distribution of Responses of Eight Employment, Marital, and Welfare Categories to Item:

"Eggs are a good source of protein"

| Response Categories | Welfare | | | | Ex-welfare | | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | nonemployed | | employed | | nonemployed | | employed | | |
| | Ha | Hp | Ha | Hp | Ha | Hp | Ha | Hp | |
| True | 97 | 97 | 98 | 99 | 100 | 97 | 100 | 98 | 98 |
| False | 3 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 2 |

Chi Sq. = 4.03
d.f. = 7
p <.80

## Table H5r

## Cross Tabulation of Responses to Education and Eggs as a Good Source of Protein (Percent Distribution)

| Education | Response True | Response False | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | 100.00 | 0.00 | 2 |
| 1 | 20.00 | 80.00 | 5 |
| 2-3 | 100.00 | 0.00 | 7 |
| 4-5 | 100.00 | 0.00 | 35 |
| 6-7 | 94.68 | 5.32 | 94 |
| 8-9 | 98.68 | 1.25 | 319 |
| 10-11 | 97.95 | 2.05 | 390 |
| 12-13 | 97.65 | 2.35 | 426 |
| 14-15 | 100.00 | 0.00 | 30 |
| 16-17 | 100.00 | 0.00 | 8 |
| 18-19 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0 |
| Sub-Total | 97.64 | 2.36 | 1316 |
| Undefined | 100.00 | 0.00 | 1 |
| Grand Total | 97.65 | 2.35 | 1317 |

Chi Sq. = 138.46
d.f. = 10

## Table H5s

## Cross Tabulation of Responses to Total Income and Eggs as a Good Source of Protein

| Income | Response True | Response False | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| $0-1900 | 100.00 | 0.00 | 73 |
| $2-2900 | 96.05 | 3.95 | 177 |
| $3-3900 | 98.51 | 1.49 | 268 |
| $4-4900 | 96.75 | 3.25 | 246 |
| $5-5900 | 98.84 | 1.16 | 172 |
| $6-6900 | 99.08 | 0.92 | 109 |
| $7-7900 | 97.59 | 2.41 | 83 |
| $8-8900 | 98.18 | 1.82 | 55 |
| $9-9900 | 96.67 | 3.33 | 30 |
| $10,000+ | 95.19 | 4.81 | 104 |
| Sub-Total | 97.65 | 2.35 | 1317 |

Chi Sq. = 10.42 d.f. = 9 p < .30

## Table H5t

### Cross Tabulation of Responses to Voting and Eggs as a Good Source of Protein (Percent Distribution)

| Response | Vote in last election No | Yes | Sub-Total | Undefined | Grand Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| True | 97.13 | 98.17 | 97.65 | 0.00 | 97.65 |
| False | 2.87 | 1.83 | 2.35 | 0.00 | 2.35 |
| Total | 662 | 655 | 1317 | 0 | 1317 |

Chi Sq. = 1.12
d.f. = 1
p <.30

## Table H5u

### Percentage Distribution of Responses of Eight Employment, Marital, and Welfare Categories to Item: "Gravy is a good source of protein"

| Response Categories | Welfare nonemployed Ha | Hp | employed Ha | Hp | Ex-welfare nonemployed Ha | Hp | employed Ha | Hp | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| True | 39 | 49 | 34 | 35 | 44 | 31 | 33 | 28 | 38 |
| False | 61 | 51 | 66 | 65 | 56 | 69 | 67 | 72 | 62 |

Chi Sq. = 25.32
d.f. = 7
p <.001

## Table H5v

## Cross Tabulation of Responses to Education and Gravy as a Good Source of Protein (Percent Distribution)

| Education | Response True | Response False | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | 0.00 | 100.00 | 2 |
| 1 | 100.00 | 0.00 | 5 |
| 2-3 | 71.43 | 28.57 | 7 |
| 4-5 | 62.86 | 37.14 | 35 |
| 6-7 | 62.77 | 37.23 | 94 |
| 8-9 | 47.15 | 52.85 | 316 |
| 10-11 | 36.83 | 63.17 | 391 |
| 12-13 | 24.53 | 75.47 | 424 |
| 14-15 | 23.33 | 76.67 | 30 |
| 16-17 | 22.22 | 77.78 | 9 |
| 18-19 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0 |
| Sub-Total | 37.85 | 62.15 | 1313 |
| Undefined | 0.00 | 100.00 | 1 |
| Grand Total | 37.82 | 62.18 | 1314 |

Chi Sq. = 94.30
d.f. = 10
p < .001

## Table H5w

## Cross Tabulation of Responses to Total Income and Gravy as a Good Source of Protein (Percent Distribution)

| Income | Response True | Response False | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| $0-1900 | 43.06 | 56.94 | 72 |
| $2-2900 | 38.64 | 61.36 | 176 |
| $3-3900 | 38.66 | 61.34 | 269 |
| $4-4900 | 37.55 | 62.45 | 245 |
| $5-5900 | 40.12 | 59.88 | 172 |
| $6-6900 | 43.12 | 56.88 | 109 |
| $7-7900 | 29.27 | 70.73 | 82 |
| $8-8900 | 29.09 | 70.91 | 55 |
| $9-9900 | 23.33 | 76.67 | 30 |
| $10,000+ | 37.50 | 62.50 | 104 |
| Sub-Total | 37.82 | 62.18 | 1314 |

Chi Sq. = 9.68 d.f. = 9 p < .30

Table H5x

Cross Tabulation of Responses to Voting and Gravy as a Good Source of Protein (Percent Distribution)

| Response | Vote in last election No | Vote in last election Yes | Sub-Total | Undefined | Grand Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| True | 43.40 | 32.21 | 37.82 | 0.00 | 37.82 |
| False | 56.60 | 67.79 | 62.18 | 0.00 | 62.18 |
| Total | 659 | 655 | 1314 | 0 | 1314 |

Chi Sq. = 17.00
d.f. = 1
$p < .001$

question. They will also tend to take statements at face value. Their culture is traditional and they accept old wives' tales about food just as they would probably accept the word of the vendor of patent medicines about his wares. It is perceived that women who have stayed in school and learned more get jobs, get off welfare, improve their financial status, vote, and reject the superstitions of their forebears. Information seeking habits must be important in job seeking and therefore in employment. When no information is sought as in those who believe falsehoods about the most basic need of life - food, it may be surmised that such people will not go after jobs but would rather live out the traditional role of the mother in the home even if this means a continual acceptance of welfare. The prognosis is poor for such women as far as their integration into the work force is concerned. Perhaps if they are young enough and have opportunities enough to undergo educational rehabilitation they could exceptionally leave the old culture and gain financial independence through employment.

## H6 Consumer Practices: Food and Clothing

Shopping to obtain the food and clothing a family needs is one of the big jobs of the homemaker, and as has been reported, was most frequently done by the woman herself. Do working women need help as consumers in their food and clothing shopping practices?

### H6.1 Food Shopping

Two questions were asked about food shopping: "How many times a week do you shop at a large supermarket?" and "How many times a week do you shop at a small local store?" The sums of these two items showed the mean number of times shopped per week was 4.42 with no difference by employment groups.

Fifty-seven percent of the women got to a large supermarket once a week and 15% shopped there twice a week. Nine percent never got to a large store but many women shopped at a store, large or small, everyday. The opportunity to get to a large store everyday may be no less than the opportunity to get to a small one if people are living right near one. When satisfaction with homemaking was related to shopping for food, it was found that women were more satisfied if they shopped once a week at a large store and if they never shopped at a small store.

### H6.2 Consumer Clothing Problems

In order to assess whether employed women had consumer problems different from the problems nonemployed women thought they might have if they worked, the total sample was asked, "How much of a problem for you is each of the following in relation to clothes?" The items were coded on a five point scale from 0 = not at all a problem to 4 = very much a problem. Table H6.2 summarizes the items and results.

Table H6.2

Employment Effect for the Item:

"Consumer Problems with Clothing"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean | % reporting some problem |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Worth the cost | 1.76 | 1.66 | n.s. | 1.69 | 44 |
| Well made | 1.58 | 1.59 | n.s. | 1.59 | 41 |
| Durable | 1.36 | 1.43 | n.s. | 1.41 | 37 |
| Looks good | 1.39 | 1.39 | n.s. | 1.39 | 36 |
| Right size | 1.22 | 1.30 | n.s. | 1.27 | 32 |
| Easy care, wash & wear | .56 | .77 | .01 | .70 | 17 |

From these comparisons it can be seen that only for the item, "easy care," was there any difference between the employed and nonemployed (means = .56 vs. .77)**. For the working woman, clothing which does not require a lot of maintenance is one of the ways in which time spent on total housework can be reduced, but the workers seem to have less problems than the nonworkers, perhaps because they more often purchase new clothing. The level of the means, even though there were differences between these two groups, indicated that for most of the women, this was not very much of a problem.

The means for the rest of the items seemed to show that for the average woman, finding good looking, durable, and well made clothing that was the right size and worth the money was perceived by many to be a problem for them; from 17 to 44% of the women did indeed find problems with new clothes.

### H6.3 Clothing Acquisition

It is of interest to see if the working woman is any more or less interested in finding bargains or in sewing to get clothing that fits, than are the nonemployed. Table H6.3 shows the summary of four items concerned with sources of clothing. The scale was again on a five point basis, from 0 = never to 4 = nearly always.

Table H6.3

Employment Effect for the Items: "Sources of Clothing"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean | % of "never" |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Purchase new | 2.93 | 2.79 | .05 | 2.83 | 1 |
| Gifts | 1.68 | 1.78 | n.s. | 1.75 | 22 |
| Used clothing store or rummage sale | 1.18 | 1.45 | .001 | 1.36 | 38 |
| Make them in family | 1.25 | 1.04 | .01 | 1.11 | 54 |

This list of items shows that the employed women more often purchase new clothing than the nonemployed (means = 2.93 vs. 2.79)*, although for the sample as a whole, the magnitude of the means shows that the average woman bought new clothing more often than not. The employed women were less likely to get clothing at used clothing stores or rummage sales and there was no difference in the amount of gifts the two groups got. The women hardly ever made their own clothes although the employed did this a little more often.

The one significant interaction effect throws more light on this area.

Table H6.3a

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item: "How often do you make your own clothes?"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Husband-absent | 1.13 | 1.06 |
| Husband-present | 1.38 | 1.02 |

$p < .05$

The employed husband-present group sewed their own clothes more often than did the employed husband-absent. There were no differences among the nonemployed. It may be that these employed husband-present women were generally more effective and resourceful.

## H6.4 Comments about Food and Clothing Consumer Practices

The most surprising finding is that the employed women were more apt to sew clothes at home. These may be the more active women who had the energy to trade for money, in providing the extra clothing that they needed in order to look presentable on the job. They may also get a lot of satisfaction and relaxation from the activity itself. The nonemployed have less money to spend on clothing, larger families, and less need to have additional changes of clothing. The stay-at-home women do not appear to fit the traditional picture of the woman sitting at home sewing clothes for the family. The employed may also be driven to be as good a homemaker as anybody. The relatively low level of use of home sewing as opposed to new purchasing indicates that informal education might be directed more toward consumer knowledge than to clothing construction techniques.

The second most usual way to get clothes was by gifts, indicating there may be a fairly good informal network of communication between the families and their relatives and friends.

The high use of purchasing new clothes coupled with the number of problems women faced when they purchased clothing indicates a need for more knowledge by the women about clothing so they can get clothes that fit, wear well, and are easy to care for. On the other hand, they may not be able to purchase what they need at the price they can afford to pay. Increasing their skill as home sewers might allow them to remodel and repair not only the clothes they buy but also the clothes they got as gifts and as used clothing.

## H7 Effective Homemaker

### H7.1 Composition of the Variable

As a conclusion to the discussion of homemaking, it was decided to develop a measure of an effective homemaker. Five items were grouped into the three areas of nutrition, house care, and storage space in the home. The nutrition items were self reported. The condition of the home was an objective external rating by the interviewer. The evaluation of storage space was a subjective judgment by the women on the effectiveness with which she could store the things she had and could be thought of as a measure of ingenuity if the house was poor. The table shows the means for these individual sums.

Table H7.1

Mean Values for the Items Composing the Variable: "Effective Homemaker"

| Item | Mean |
|---|---|
| Servings of meat and vegetables in last 24 hours | 2.99 |
| Interviewer's rating of outside paint and inside care | 2.78 |
| Woman's rating of storage space in the home | 2.23 |
| Total | 8.00 |

The sum of the items was obtained for each woman and when the groups were compared it was found that the employed had higher mean scores than the nonemployed (means = 8.30 vs. 7.85)**. The significant interaction between employment and marital status showed that among the employed, the husband-present groups were more effective, but among the nonemployed, the husband-present groups were less effective. The most effective group was the employed, husband-present group and the least effective was the nonemployed, husband-present. There was no difference between the two employment groups for the husband-absent.

Table H7.1a

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Variable: "Effective Homemaker"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Husband-absent | 8.17 | 8.08 |
| Husband-present | 8.44 | 7.61 |

$p < .016$

Each employment group was considered as a separate population for further analysis in order to discover the demographic, self, and housing factors which contributed to being an effective homemaker when a woman was working outside of the home and when she was not. The comparison of the more and less effective homemakers within the employed group gave information about women who could manage being both workers and homemakers. The comparison for the nonemployed gave insight into the barriers to employment existing in the homes of the nonemployed.

## H7.2 The Employed Effective Homemaker

The scores of all the employed women were summed for the five items and the group was divided into High Effective (HiEfH) and Low Effective Homemaker (LoEfH). Using the median score as a cut off, there were 219 lows and 214 highs. The percent of High Effective Homemaker in the welfare and marital subgroups are shown. Note that the percent of lows in each subgroup is not shown but would sum to 100% in each cell. There were 45% High Effective Homemakers in the welfare husband-present group; 55% in this cell were Low Effective Homemakers.

Table H7.2

Percentages of High Effective Homemakers Among the Employed for Welfare and Marital Groups
(Lows not shown)

| | Welfare | Ex-welfare |
|---|---|---|
| Husband-absent | 43 | 57 |
| Husband-present | 45 | 57 |

From this table it can be seen that among the employed, an effective homemaker was related to welfare status but not to marital status. The ex-welfare were more effective than the presently welfare (57% vs. 44%). There was no interaction effect.

High and Low Effective Homemakers were compared on a number of demographic, self, and housing variables. Only those comparisons reaching at least .05 significance level (chi square) will be discussed. The p value will be reported for some borderline comparisons.

Among the employed women, total income did not differentiate the two EfH groups. This is an important finding since it indicates that being an effective homemaker was not due to the things which money alone could buy but must be due to other things. Education was not significantly related to EfH. There were no differences in age, which indicates that women did not improve as they got older. There was a tendency for women with fewer preschoolers to be more effective and it might be hypothesized that as a woman got older and her children grew older her effectiveness as a homemaker might increase, but this was not substantiated. There was also no relationship to the total number of individuals in the family, showing it was not a problem of too many people.

The HiEfH group did have more rooms and were more apt to have reported feeling their houses had enough space so they did not feel crowded. They also reported their kitchens were better than the LoEfH reported theirs to be.

The self rating of satisfaction with health did not differentiate the two EfH groups but since this was a group of workers most of them had fairly good health although 25% of them indicated that their health was a problem.

Contrary to expectations, we did not find that the effective homemakers thought of themselves as better at organizing others (children and husbands as helpers, for instance). They did not perceive themselves as being more efficient, better at managing money, or more competent. The efficient group did not think of themselves as more willing to learn new things, and they were more likely to have voted in the last election.

Effective homemakers were no more likely to say that they liked working and no more likely to get a high interviewer's rating on level of comprehension of the interview since almost all of these workers were rated good.

Among these working women, this measure of effectiveness did not differentiate the sample on their satisfaction with finances, the time spent with children, the place of shopping whether at a supermarket or a small store, or nutrition knowledge. Among those with a husband, satisfaction of the husband with the condition of the home, the meals, or time spent with him were non-significantly related.

## H7.3 Correlates of Effective Homemaking for the Nonemployed

When the median score of the employed was used to divide the nonemployed group there was a much wider range of scores and a much lower percent of HiEfH (29%). The resulting populations are shown below. Again, the percentage of Low Effective for each cell is not shown since it is the obverse of the High Effective, e.g., there were 29% High Effective welfare husband-absent, so there were 71% in this cell who were Low Effective.

Table H7.3

Percentage of High Effective Homemakers Among the Nonemployed for Marital and Welfare Groups

| | Welfare | Ex-welfare |
|---|---|---|
| Husband-absent | 29 | 26 |
| Husband present | 21 | 36 |

$p < .05$

Welfare status did not show as much of a main effect difference as it did for the employed, but the ex-welfare were more likely to be more effective homemakers than the welfare (34% vs. 26%). No overall marital effect was shown, but for the husband-absent, being welfare or ex-welfare made little difference. Yet the husband-present welfare women were less likely to be in the HiEfH group than were the ex-welfare.

The demographic variable of age was not related to EfH. Education and income were weakly related ($p <.10$) but total number in the family and the number of preschoolers were significantly related, with the High Effective Homemakers having fewer children and smaller children and tending to have more education.

The three housing variables of enough space, convenient kitchen and ease of caring for the home were significantly related in favor of the HiEfH group.

Although 40% of the nonemployed, as opposed to 25% of the employed, indicated that their health was a problem to them, those in the LoEfH group were even less satisfied with their health.

HiEfH nonworkers were more likely to rate themselves as efficient persons and as having a good head for finances. These HiEfHs did not see themselves as any more competent than the LoEhHs nor were they more likely to think they were more interested in learning new things, but the interviewers were more likely to rate the HiEfHs as having good comprehension of the interview. There was no difference between these two groups in their liking for work.

The HiEfH nonemployed, the same as the employed, were more likely to get help with their housework and with taking care of the clothing, but no more likely to get help with food preparation. The HiEfH reported their children helped more.

The LoEfHs apparently realized their problems and would like to spend more time on housework. Perhaps because of poorer health, more people, less help, and poorer housing these women would have liked to spend an extra hour sleeping or relaxing while their more efficient sisters would prefer to spend their extra hour on reading or being with the family.

The HiEfH nonemployed women were more likely to get to a large supermarket only once a week while the LoEfHs were more likely never to get to a large market or to go two or more times a week. There was no difference in shopping at small local stores.

Since the measure used to assess efficiency of homemaking included items related to nutrition, it is not surprising that the two nonemployed groups were differentiated on the amount of milk, meat, and vegetables they had during the last 24 hours. It is interesting, however, that among the employed women there were no significant differences between the HiEfHs and the LoEfHs.

Among the nonemployed who were married, the HiEfH groups reported that the husband was more satisfied with how neat and clean the house was, the kind of meals served, and the amount of time spent with him.

### H7.4 Comments on the Effective Homemaker

The finding that the welfare nonemployed women were the least effective homemakers of all, suggests that this group needs special help to become more effective. Receiving this help and improving their homemaking ability may be necessary as a prior stage to their becoming employed.

It is interesting that the nonemployed welfare husband-present group had a larger percent of Low Effective Homemakers. The husband-present welfare group, although lower than the ex-welfare families, were higher in percent of home ownership than any other welfare group. These may be low income people who have incorporated the values of hard work and home ownership but have not been able to get the money together for needed home improvements and are not able to get credit. These are the people portrayed in Fitchen's adjunct report, "The People of Road Junction," and in some of the case studies.

Low cost home improvement loans might help the Low Effective Homemakers become more effective and reduce the tensions created by their housing problems.

Employed women, although divided into high and low groups, represented a limited range on this measure. The nonemployed represented a more expanded range which showed more differences between the highs and the lows.

High Effective Homemakers tended to have smaller families, fewer preschoolers, tended toward more education, and had better houses which allowed them to be more effective. The effective were more likely to see themselves as more efficient and good at finances. They got more help from their children and husbands, if they had one, which indicated that they were better able to manage. They were also more active in community affairs.

Age was not related to being an effective homemaker in the range of age represented by this sample. This was a disappointing finding in that women apparently did not become effective homemakers in the normal course of events and learning by experience. Apparently external things like better housing or specific instruction would be necessary to help those who were ineffective.

Significant differences in the nutrition items may be related to lack of nutrition information which needs to be given to women. The significant relationship with health might reflect poor nutrition. Having poor health would certainly hinder being able to manage the home well.

Among the nonemployed group, there are undoubtedly many women who may not work and who will remain effective homemakers. These may be the women in the nonemployed who are most like the effective and it would appear, have the greatest potential for being employed.

## H8 Summary and Comments about the Employed Woman as Homemaker

Women in general find that their homemaking is not as much satisfaction to them as many other areas of their lives. They would like to spend more time with their children, and only then would they spend more time on their houses.

Employed women would like to spend more time on housework but the nonemployed would like to spend more time with friends. One third of the employed indicated that their work around the house was more of a problem than a satisfaction to them. The employed women reported that their houses were not as easy for them to care for as the nonemployed reported theirs to be and it was found that, especially for the nonemployed, having a husband made it more difficult to get the housework done.

Housing was found to have an effect on ease of home care with the inside more of a problem to the employed than to the nonemployed. The convenience of the kitchen was an important factor for the working women and the employed women with a husband reported having the best kitchens while the employed husband-absent reported the worst.

The interviewer's rating of the homes indicated that one quarter of the homes of our sample showed problems with the outside while one fifth had problems with the inside. It was found that the ex-welfare,husband-present women had the best housing and the welfare, nonemployed, husband-present women had the worst. This group is reflected in the report on Road Junction and the case studies. The ecology of the home, its location in regard to work, stores, and neighborhood , did not differentiate the employment groups but the husband-absent employed were most conveniently located to work.

Women as a whole got little help with their work around the house and the employed got only a little more help from their children but no more from their husbands than the nonemployed. It was interesting to find that the employed women did not think their children should help them more because of their working but they did think their husbands should. Perhaps this could be accounted for by the fact that the children were reported to be helping more already while the husbands were not.

The women of the sample were all using convenience foods. It was interesting to find that the employed did not see as many gains, as in eating out, or losses, such as large increase in the cost of food, as the nonemployed anticipated they would find if they went to work. The nonemployed spent the same on groceries, but since they had larger families, the amount spent on food per person was less. The chance to purchase either more convenience foods or better, more nutritious food was a gain which apparently came with employment.

In clothing, the employed reported buying more new clothes than the nonemployed and they also did more sewing, especially the husband-present women. The husband-present had the advantage of another adult in the home who did share some of the load so perhaps had more time for sewing. Since up to 40% of the women indicated some problems with finding good clothing ready-made, it might be useful for many of the women to take classes in alterations and sewing and in how to purchase the best clothing for the money spent.

The correlates of the Efficient Homemaker showed that the employed women as a group were already quite efficient. It might be supposed that those who are able to manage their home efficiently at the same time they are working are very capable. Even among the employed, those with poor housing and those who were unable to get help from their families were less effective, emphasizing the importance of these factors. in helping women manage the home.

For the nonemployed, the factors of housing and help were also shown to be important, but in addition, the factor of health was important. To be able to do a good job in the home a woman must have enough energy to do the work. The less effective nonemployed women, although not different from the more effective in income, did differ in the quality of the meals they were able to serve their families. The welfare nonemployed were the group most likely to be ineffective, showing a great need for homemaker help for this group before they could be expected to be able to take a job requiring them to manage both a house and outside work.

It was interesting to find that the efficient homemaker, both employed and nonemployed, was apt to be more active in the community. Since the causal relationship between community participation and efficiency is not known, it is difficult to predict the value of community participation as a method of helping a woman become more effective. It is more likely the effect of a personal quality of the women - the busiest people get the most done.

## H9 Implications about the Employed Woman as Homemaker

1. If a woman is trying to work in an inefficient home, such as described in our companion report on the Rural Pocket of Poverty, providing a convenient kitchen, easy to clean floors and adequate storage space may make it possible for the woman to improve her housekeeping. Because this improvement in housekeeping ability does not occur spontaneously, as shown by the data on age, it would seem that if new housing were to be provided, training courses in how to manage the new home should also be provided.

2. If new housing is not available it might be useful to teach women ways to improve the convenience of their kitchens and ways to improve the storage in their homes. In the past years the Home Demonstration Units did a great deal in these areas and many farm and middle class women improved their old kitchens as a result of their lessons. Most middle

class women have fairly convenient kitchens far beyond the dreams of the early Home Demonstration Agent. But there may be a whole new group of younger women of low income whose homes are inadequate who were never reached by those lessons but now need the information and assistance.

3. Since the clear relationship with numbers of children and numbers in the family has been shown, it would appear that making available the services of Planned Parenthood would be a minimum. Such a program should be a vigorous outreach program, well funded. Young girls in school need to be reached with this information before embarking on parenthood.

4. For those with physical disabilities, the newly developed programs at some Home Economics schools, Homemaker Rehabilitation programs, should be tied in more directly with the Work Incentive Training Program.

5. Since there is a trend for the educated woman to be more effective, it might be supposed that giving women an opportunity to take preliminary schooling would be useful in increasing their effectiveness. Training is recommended for effective homemaking that would give help in organizing the housework as well as job skills and knowledge. After the youngest child was in school and if her house was fairly easy to care for, a woman might finally have enough money to take training for a job. The training in homemaking should be brought to the home by homemaking aides.

6. Another area of concern is that of nutrition. Although the items which indexed the Effective Homemaker included two on nutrition, it is interesting that the working women did not differ on these measures significantly. For the nonworking there may be need for a great deal of information on how to buy wisely since income did not seem to be critical. The Nutrition Aide program of using women selected from their own neighborhood is an example of a program to help low income women use their money wisely to provide proper nutrition for their families.

7. The establishment of a homemaker aide program is strongly recommended. The following is a scheme suggested to select women for homemaker aides:

a. Women who report eating a good diet themselves or who actually change when given new information.

b. Women who are able to keep the inside of their home in an orderly manner.

c. Women who are able to mobilize their families to help.

d. Women who think they are more interested than the average in learning new things.

e. Women who have a good start on their education (12 years, or 9 - 11 years of school) and are interested in taking more training.

f. Women who are more effective people as evidenced by a higher rating of self esteem and more active in the community.

g. Women who are relieved of the care of a preschool child.

# CHAPTER VI

# THE EMPLOYED WOMAN AS A MOTHER

Society's expectation has been that when a couple marry and have children those children will be cared for by their mother, and the father will bring in the money to support mother and children. Many women accept this definition of their role and many see the caring for a child as their most important task. They pride themselves on the loving care which they offer their child which will enable that child to grow and develop into a good person and citizen. A child must be cared for, and when the mother is not available to provide that care, some arrangement must be made to substitute for her. Since, in our society, raising a child is usually considered something each mother does best for her own child, there is considerable reluctance to entrust children to anyone else - particularly one who might not have the same philosophy and who might not provide the same loving attention.

For many women their children are their main source of satisfaction and they find it difficult to think of leaving the home and children and going into the work world. Many women think their children will suffer if they go to work. This chapter attempts to find out what the effects of working were and what nonworking women thought they might be.

Since the sample for this study was selected on the basis of each mother having a teenager, this report includes the mother's report of her teenager and his functioning, including aspirations and work attitudes. Here is an assessment of a new generation of future workers who have lived with the adversity of low income, some on welfare, some with mothers working, and some with no father in the home. What have been the effects of these circumstances?

## M1 Problems and Satisfactions

Being a parent is a central source of satisfaction for the women of this sample. When the women were asked to rank the areas of their lives in terms of the satisfactions they received, an overwhelming 63% of the total sample indicated that their children were the greatest source of satisfaction. The next largest percentages were 6% for housework, 6% for satisfactions with men, and only 3% indicated that a job was their greatest source of satisfaction. The employed women were less likely to indicate children as their main source of satisfaction and more apt to choose a job, but even so, 9% was the highest percent in any cell indicating job satisfaction as primary; this was the employed welfare, husband-present group.

Since children were ranked highly as a source of satisfaction when other satisfactions were also considered, were children less of a problem in the mothers' lives? The mothers were asked to rate their children on a five point scale from 0 = very much of a problem, through 2 = neither a problem nor a satisfaction, to 4 = a lot of satisfaction. The overall mean of 3.19 indicated that children were a real source of satisfaction. Fifty-six percent of the women said children were "a lot" of satisfaction while another 23% said they were "some" satisfaction. Only 21% indicated their children were neutral or problems.

Another way in which this same satisfaction with children was shown was by means of a ladder of 10 steps. With 9 indicating the very best way things could be going between the woman and her children, they were to select the step that represented their present situation. The overall mean was 6.82, showing that on the average, women felt things were going well between them and their children. There were no significant differences for any main effects or interactions showing that women in general were quite happy with their children regardless of their welfare, employment, or marital status.

Since children were a source of so much satisfaction in the lives of their mothers, it would be interesting to determine the individual areas of functioning which were seen as most satisfying, and which seemed to be least satisfying.

Mothers were shown a list of attributes about their children and asked to indicate how dissatisfied or how satisfied they were about them. The responses were on a five point scale from 0 = very dissatisfied, through 2 = indifferent, neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, to 4 = very satisfied. The items were grouped under four headings and the rank order of the means determined. The four groups with their means are shown below.

Table M1

Mean Scores for Four Areas of Child Satisfaction

| Area | Mean |
|---|---|
| Mother-child relationships | 3.37 |
| Personal behavior and functioning | 3.10 |
| Social and interpersonal behavior | 2.97 |
| School functioning | 2.89 |
| Overall mean | 3.08 |

The individual items and their means within each of the groupings will be discussed in the next section where the responses to this question are compared with the mothers' responses to the same items.

This ordering of the items clarifies the sources of the women's satisfactions with their children. She enjoyed most the interpersonal relationship of herself with her child. The magnitude of the means for all four areas shows that the women on the average were getting some satisfaction and an average of 40% were getting a great deal of satisfaction for each item.

Although all four means were very close to the 3 level, the items under school functioning were the lowest. Apparently the school functioning of their children was the area of most concern and least satisfaction.

## M2 Effect of Employment on the Child

The importance of children in the lives of the women of our sample has been shown, and in general, things were going well with them and their children. What was the effect of work on both the mother's satisfactions and the functioning of the children?

### M2.1 Overall Effect of Employment

Mothers were asked the global question, "Now tell me whether you feel your working has had an overall effect on the problems you have with your children?" For this question, and the ones to follow, employed women were to respond in terms of their own experience and nonemployed women were to state what effect they thought going to work would have on their children. Answers were coded on a five point scale from 0 = working has made me much more concerned, through 2 = no difference when I work, to 4 = I am much less concerned when I am working.

The overall mean for this question was .97, indicating that in general women found considerably more problems when they worked. Only 3% indicated "somewhat less concern," and no one said "much less concern." Twenty-seven percent said there was no difference and the rest indicated more concern when they were working; 44% answered "much more concern." There was a significant difference between the employed and the nonemployed (means = 1.22 vs. .84)*** which shows that the employed were actually less concerned than the nonemployed thought they would be if they worked. Significant interactions with marital status are reported in section M7, "The Father Effect."

## M2.2 Specific Effects of Employment

To further delineate the areas of child functioning which mothers found most affected by their work, the mothers were asked to respond again to the 12 items of child functioning but this time indicate whether they thought each item would be affected by their working. The items were coded 0 = things much worse when I go to work, through 2 = same as if not working, to 4 = much better when I work.

In Table M2.2, the 12 items are shown grouped under the four headings. The means for the question, "How well satisfied are you with the following?" discussed in the previous section, and the means for the present question, "How have things been affected by your working?" are both shown with the rankings of the groups.

Table M2.2

Means for Satisfaction Level and Effect of Work for Four Areas of Child Functioning

| | Present Satisfaction | | Effect of Work | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Items | Means | Rank | Means | Rank |
| Mother-child relationships | | 1 | | 4 |
| How highly they think of you | 3.64 | | 2.12 | |
| Your strictness with them | 3.35 | | 1.93 | |
| How much time you spend with them | 3.11 | | 1.28 | |
| Overall means | 3.37 | | 1.78 | |
| Personal behavior | | 2 | | 2 |
| How happy they feel | 3.25 | | 1.77 | |
| Their appearance and grooming | 3.12 | | 1.81 | |
| How much responsibility they have, how much they are on their own | 3.07 | | 2.15 | |
| How well they behave | 2.97 | | 1.71 | |
| Overall means | 3.10 | | 1.86 | |
| Social and interpersonal behavior | | 3 | | 3 |
| How well they get along with their friends | 3.40 | | 2.00 | |
| The kids they run around with | 3.06 | | 1.76 | |
| How well the kids get along with each other | 2.46 | | 1.72 | |
| Overall means | 2.97 | | 1.83 | |
| School functioning | | 4 | | 1 |
| Their plans for the future | 2.90 | | 2.12 | |
| How well they do in school | 2.88 | | 1.78 | |
| Overall means | 2.89 | | 1.95 | |

A lower score in the first column indicates less satisfaction with this area of child functioning, and a lower score in the second column indicates a more negative effect of work.

The overall score in the second column was 1.86, indicating that the women felt there was a slight negative effect of work. Table M2.2a shows the employment effect for these items and this table will be discussed with the previous one.

Table M2.2a

Employment Effect for the items:

"Effect of work on child functioning."

| Items | Employed | Nonemployed | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mother-child relationships | | | |
| How highly they think of you | 2.25 | 2.06 | .001 |
| Your strictness with them | 1.98 | 1.91 | n.s. |
| How much time you spend with them | 1.51 | 1.18 | .001 |
| Overall mean | 1.98 | 1.72 | |
| Personal behavior | | | |
| How happy they feel | 1.87 | 1.66 | .001 |
| Their appearance and grooming | 1.89 | 1.77 | .01 |
| How much responsibility they have | 2.30 | 2.08 | .001 |
| How well they behave | 1.86 | 1.64 | .001 |
| Overall mean | 1.98 | 1.69 | |
| Social and interpersonal behavior | | | |
| How well they get along with friends | 2.06 | 1.97 | .01 |
| The kids they run around with | 1.93 | 1.67 | .001 |
| How well your children get along with each other | 1.96 | 1.60 | .001 |
| Overall mean | 1.92 | 1.75 | |
| School functioning | | | |
| Their plans for the future | 2.23 | 2.06 | .001 |
| How well they do in school | 1.94 | 1.70 | .001 |
| Overall mean | 2.08 | 1.88 | |

Comparing the rank order of the group means, it is interesting to note that the items which we have called Mother-Child Relationships were the greatest source of satisfaction for the mothers and had a rank of 1. It appears as though this group was the one most affected by working with a rank of 4. Inspection of the individual item means, however, shows that the item, "How highly he thinks of you" was the highest source of satisfaction and also, since its mean was above 2, was expected to increase in satisfaction as a result of working. This item showed a very significant difference between the employed and the nonemployed (means = 2.25 vs. 2.06)***, indicating that the working women felt their children respected them more for working while the nonemployed women did not think that working would change the respect their children had for them.

The item, "How much time you spend with your children," was above the average of the items as a source of satisfaction, but many women, in another question, indicated they would like more time with their children. Realistically, the women expected the time with their children would be less when they were working, but again there was a great difference between what the working women reported in this regard, and what the nonemployed expected would happen (means = 1.51 vs. 1.18)***. Overall, it appears that the expected negative outcome in regard to Mother-Child Relationships was mainly accounted for by the one item, "How much time you spend with your children." This item had the lowest score indicating the greatest negative effect of work. The amount of reduced time was overestimated by the nonemployed according to what the employed actually reported.

For the group, Personal Behavior, the item, "How happy they feel" was the major source of satisfaction and was shown to be affected by the mother's working. Again, there was a difference between the employed and nonemployed (means = 1.87 vs. 1.66)***. In general, the mothers thought their children's appearance and grooming would be negatively affected by their working and that there would be some deterioration of their behavior. The children's responsibility, how much they would be on their own, was slightly above the average but is shown to be the area where the mothers thought there was the most improvement when they were working. Again, the employed thought this improvement would be greater than the nonemployed anticipated (means = 2.30 vs. 2.08)***.

Social and Interpersonal Behavior was third in the women's ranking of sources of satisfaction and third in their level of expected positive outcome. The mothers were happy that their children got along with their friends and felt that there would be little change in this, but they apparently felt that without mother's attention, the children would pick less good companions and might not get along with others as well. Significant differences in the same direction were found for all these comparisons so that for each one, the employed reported less negative effects than the nonemployed anticipated.

School functioning was the area where the mothers found least satisfaction although the means were still above "indifferent." Both the employed and the nonemployed expect the children to have better plans for the future if the mother worked but again more of the employed thought so (means = 2.23 vs. 2.06)***. The employed mothers reported less deterioration in their children "doing well in school" than the nonemployed anticipated (means = 1.94 vs. 1.70)***.

### M2.3 Comments on Effect of Employment on the Child

These findings have shown that women got a great deal of satisfaction from their children from all areas of their functioning, but especially from the interpersonal relationships. When women went to work some found negative changes, but many found no changes or found instead positive changes. One illustration of this is the subject of one of our case studies who feared the negative effects that being away from home would have, and found instead that both she and her children enjoyed each other more in the time they did have together. The finding of less negative changes reported by workers than the nonemployed would expect to occur is surely one of the most interesting findings. It is possible that this finding could be accounted for by the fact that the workers were more effective persons and were able to manage their children and their job in such a way that the children did not suffer as much as would the children of the nonemployed.

Employment did not necessarily bring negative outcomes to children. In the areas of respect for the mother, sense of responsibility, and plans for the future, employment of the mother seemed to bring more positive outcomes than negative. Women who were nonemployed should have this information. It may be that they actually believed that the outcome would be very negative, and for some, previous experience may have actually proved to be negative. But for others a belief in the negative outcome may be only a rationalization to legitimize their not looking for work even though the income and financial well being of their family would be enhanced. For some of these latter, a feeling that their presence was necessary at home and that disintegration of the children would occur served to enhance their feeling of worth, in a way that going out to a low paying job might never do.

With these disclaimers, however, the facts that for women who worked, there did not on the average appear to be much negative change in their children, should be presented to women whose families need additional income. These facts, and a discussion of the realistic problems of the employed women and their children, could well be part of a job training program.

## M3 Effects of Child Problems on the Mother's Employment

The child's physical illnesses are rarely considered important to a man's employment but are part of the "woman's work." If a child is ill, the mother is expected to care for hir or she is thought to be negligent.

Table M3 shows some data about children's illnesses.

Table M3
Employment Effect for the Items:
"Child's Illness"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| How many days were you absent because you had to take care of the children (actual number | .79 | 1.79 | .001 | 1.46 |
| Number of serious child illnesses (actual number) | .31 | .38 | n.s. | .36 |
| Left job because of child care problems (0 = no, 1 = yes) | .09 | .16 | .001 | .13 |

From these comparisons it is clear that for all of these events, the nonemployed had more difficulties which would prevent a woman from being a reliable employee.

### M3.1 Comments on the Effect of Child Problem on the Mother's Employment

Although the incidence of these was small, each contributed to difficulty in continuing work while at the same time doing a good job with the family, which had to be considered the primary responsibility for the women. Even in husband-present homes, a husband rarely takes a day off to care for the family while his wife goes to work. There is no institutional way for a sick child to be cared for in the home and no formal assistance for a sick child to be taken to the doctor by anyone but his mother. Day care centers have no provision for the care of children when they become ill. When troubles come, it is the mother who has to take the responsibility.

It might well be asked whether the nonemployed had more illness in their families. Our data show that they said they did, and there is a follow up study by Drs. Roe and Latham to look more directly into the reasons for the greater incidence of illness in some families. The nonemployed had larger families and even if each child had the same average number of illnesses per year, the mother of a larger family would have more sick children to care for during the course of a year.

## M4 Child Functioning

The last sections documented women's subjective judgment about the effect of their working on the functioning of the children, and showed some of the problems of adequate child care. It is of considerable interest to try to assess the effect of the mother's work by more objective measures if possible. For many of the areas, this was not possible. For some of the areas it was possible to ask direct questions about performance and attitudes and then compare the answers of employed and nonemployed women.

Differences found between the children of employed and nonemployed mothers might be related to factors other than their mother's employment, but it is of interest to determine what, if any, differences there were.

The original population of mothers interviewed for this project was selected for the presence of a teenager so every family had one or more teens in the home. The mothers were asked a number of questions about this child and it may be assumed that this produced information about a representative sample of teenagers from poor families some of whose mothers were employed and some nonemployed, some with fathers and others without fathers in the home.

## M4.1 Description of the Teenage Child

The mothers were asked to select their child nearest the age of 15. The child selected by this procedure was 14 or 15 years of age in 46% of the cases, and 27% were either 13 or under, and 27% were older than 15. For this sample of children, 15 was the mean age. Forty-nine percent were male and 51% were female.

When the orginal position of the child was analyzed, 12% were youngest children, 46% were oldest, and 42% in between. More of the welfare tended to be oldest, thus reflecting a younger family and supporting the idea that having younger children made it more difficult for a family to get along without assistance.

## M4.2 Social and Interpersonal Functioning of the Teenage Child

When a mother goes to work it might be hypothesized that her children would be obligated to help more at home and that this might interfere with their participation in school and out-of-school activities. On the other hand, one might hypothesize that a mother employed outside of the home provided a more active model for the children and that the children would be more active. Teenagers with no mother at home to return to after school might fill up the time with more organized activities.

To explore these questions, mothers were asked to indicate the number of extra curricular school and non-school activities their child participated in. For both types of activities, 59% reported their child did not participate at all.

### Table N4.2

### Employment Effect for the Item:

"Does your teenager participate regularly in any clubs or extracurricular activities at school or elsewhere?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of school activities | .94 | .63 | .001 | .74 |
| Number of non-school activities | .62 | .36 | n.s. | .44 |

The results of these comparisons show that teens of employed mothers participated in significantly more school activities than teens of nonemployed mothers and, although there was a trend in the same direction for non-school activities, the difference was not significant.

On the items concerning out-of-school activities, there were significant interactions for both welfare and marital status on employment.

### Table N4.2a

### Interactions of Welfare and Marital on Employment Status for the Item:

"Does your teenage child participate regularly in any extracurricular activities outside of school?"

| | Means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | .66 | .32 |
| Ex-welfare | .56 | .48 |
| | p <.01 | |
| Husband-absent | .69 | .47 |
| Husband-present | .54 | .64 |
| | p <.01 | |

These interaction tables show that among the nonemployed, being on welfare and having the husband-absent depressed the participation rate of the child in out-of-school activities. Husband-absence and being on welfare among the employed increased participation.

### M4.3 School Functioning of the Teenager

To assess the impact of working on the school functioning of the child, women were asked to report what grades the child attained during the past school year. All grades were converted to an A to F scale with a grade of A getting a weight of 4 and an F a 0. When the reports of employed and nonemployed mothers were compared there was no difference (means = 2.47 vs. 2.44) and overall, the children were getting a grade of C+. Apparently the teenagers of working women did not do less well in school.

In order to check the reliability of the mothers reporting of her child's grades, a sample of 25 children was randomly selected. For two of these, grades were not available but for the remaining 23, in all but three cases, the mother's report of her child's grades varied less than 1 grade point.

When mothers were asked to predict whether their child would drop out of school or graduate from high school, there was a difference between the predicted outcome for the employed and nonemployed. On a scale from 0 = certainly not stay on to graduate to 4 = certainly will graduate, the employed had higher mean expectations that their child would graduate than did the nonemployed (means = 2.57 vs. 2.46)**. Although both means were in the "probably" graduate category, a few more of the employed thought their child would "certainly" graduate.

To check whether either of the groups was more optimistic than was warranted by previous experience in their families, the women were asked to report how many children in their families had already dropped out of school before finishing high school. Forty-four percent had no children old enough and therefore the question was inapplicable, 26% said they had no drop outs in their families while 14% had one, 6% had two, and 9% had three or more. Comparisons between the employed and nonemployed for whom the question was applicable showed that there was a significant difference in favor of the employed having fewer drop outs in their families (means = .40 vs. .67)***. The nonemployed women were then justified in being less certain of the graduation of their child. There were no significant differences on the number of dropouts attributable to welfare status or to husband-absence or presence, both of which might have been expected.

### M4.4 Career Plans

It might be hypothesized that the women employed outside the home would provide a better model for their children and that their children would aspire higher than those whose mothers did not go to work. On the other hand, many mothers are afraid that if they are not around to spend the time with the children after school and help them on their homework, their children will not get the inspiration to continue their education. Mothers in our sample were asked to state what they thought their teenage child would do following high school graduation. The response alternatives were non-continuous and were analyzed by chi-square rather than analysis of variance.

Table M4.4

Effect of Employment on the Items:

"What does your teenager expect to do after he leaves or graduates from high school?"
"What is most likely?"

| Item | Employed | (percent) | Nonemployed |
|---|---|---|---|
| Marriage or no plan to work or take more schooling | 12 | | 12 |
| Go into armed services | 12 | | 10 |
| Get a job | 24 | | 31 |
| Go on for training (secretarial, school, other job training) | 18 | | 19 |
| Go to community college | 6 | | 7 |
| Go on to 4 year college | 28 | | 21 |
| Total | 100 | | 100 |

Chi square = 10.77 d.f. = 5 $p < .10$

There were practically no differences in the percentages of children expecting to get married, go for training, go into the armed services, or attend community colleges. Percentages for two items showed employment effects. More children on the nonemployed planned to go directly into work, and more children of employed mothers planned to go attend a four year college. Children were more motivated to take a four year college course if their mothers worked, thus supporting a modeling hypothesis once again. Those with nonemployed mothers apparently were more eager to get into the labor force as soon as possible.

Getting married immediately after high school, without any plans for further education or a job, is an option open primarily to girls. It is interesting that having a working mother did not make a difference in the percentage of girls taking this option. This is contrary to what one would expect. Among the boys, the choice of entering the armed forces, at this point in time, is not an absolutely fre choice. The p value for this item was significant at only the .10 level.

### M4.5 Attitude Toward Work

When a mother goes to work does it increase or decrease her child's positive attitudes toward working and getting a job? The mothers were asked, "What would you say your child's attitude is when it comes to working and getting a job? How does he/she feel?" The responses were on a five point scale from 0 = would rather not work at all, through 2 = does not care one way or the other, to 4 = is looking forward to work a lot.

The overall mean of 3.46, and the lack of any differences in any groups, indicate that the women of our sample thought their children were looking forward to work. Sixty-five percent said their teenagers were looking forward to working "a lot" and another 22% said they were looking forward to work "somewhat." Since there were 12%, presumably girls, who planned to get married immediately and not work, the percentages of children looking forward to work is even higher if their mother's statement represents reality rather than social acceptability. In any case, the work ethic, as reported by the mothers, seemed to be strongly held by the children.

### M4.6 Employment

One method of assessing motivation to work is to determine whether a child had the initiative and drive to get part time work. Thirty-eight percent indicated that their child had a job. There was a significant employment effect showing that children of employed mothers were more apt to have a job than children of nonemployed women (means = .44 vs. .35)**. Perhaps a working mother provided a model of activity for the child which made hir more likely to get some part time work. This was a very positive outcome of the mother's employment.

## M4.7 Qualities of the Child as an Employee

What were the personality attributes of the teenagers which would make them acceptable employees? How did the mothers assess their children? Mothers were asked to indicate on a five point scale whether their child was "not at all like this, coded 0, through "somewhat like this," coded 2, and "very much like this," coded 4.

Table M4.7

Employment Effects on the Items:

"How much would you say your teenager is like the following?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ambitious for self | 2.85 | 2.89 | n.s. | 2.88 |
| Speaks his mind no matter who he is talking to | 2.51 | 2.69 | n.s. | 2.63 |
| Has skills necessary for getting a job | 2.38 | 2.38 | n.s. | 2.38 |
| Good at orgainizing others | 2.29 | 2.30 | n.s. | 2.29 |
| Efficient at getting things done | 2.33 | 2.30 | n.s. | 2.28 |

The children were reported as being quite ambitious and extraverted but not so able to organize others or be efficient at getting things done.

Inspection of this table shows that for all of the comparisons, there were no differences attributable to the employment status of the mother. The interaction of employment and marital status was significant ($p < .05$) for the item, "has skills necessary for a job," and the same interaction was approaching significance for the item "ambitious for self" ($p < .06$). Table M4.7a shows the interaction for the skills item.

Table M4.7a

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item:
"Has skills for a job"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Husband-absent | 2.30 | 2.45 |
| Husband-present | 2.46 | 2.31 |

$p < .05$

The direction of the means for the interaction on ambitiousness was the same so both can be discussed together. For the employed, the husband-absent were lower while for the nonemployed they were higher. If women were employed, their teenager apparently had more skills and ambition if there was a husband in the home, but if the mother was nonemployed the children had more ambition and skills if the husband was not in the home. If the mother worked with a husband in the home, she may have provided a mode. On the other hand, if the mother was nonemployed, the presence of the father in these low income families was less advantageous for the child's ambitioumess.

## M4.8 Comments on Child Functioning

This series of comparisons was conducted to detemine if, in fact, a working mother makes any difference in th functioning of teenagers. Several areas of functioning were explored and, in general, few differences were found. Whe differences were found, they were all in favor of the chilren of employed mothers.

Children of the employed were more apt to participate in extracurricular activities at school, and the welfare employed were more apt to be active in out-of-school actilities.

The interactions helped show what factors modify employment status to increase the participation of children in these activities. The more active a woman was, as shown by her employment and by the fact that she was carrying the family without a husband, the more active her children were apt to be, thus supporting the model theory.

Employed mothers were more likely to expect their teenager to graduate and to go to a four year college rather than to go directly to work. Employed mothers more often reported that their teenager had a part time job. Both the employed and nonemployed reported that their children wanted to work.

## M5 Mother-Child Relationship

When a woman works does she have the time to communicate as much with her child? Does she lose control over his activities so he tends to go his own way? This section covers the extent and content of verbal communication between mother and child and the locus of decision making about the child's activities.

### M5.1 Mother-Child Communication

It was found that the area of children's functioning that gave mothers the most satisfaction was the amount of interaction they had with their children. Interaction was indexed by a series of questions about the amount and content of communication between the teenager and the mother.

To determine whether or not work status had a negative effect on communication between mother and child, mothers were asked a series of questions concerning the amount of communication they had with their teenager on a typical day, and the subjects they talked about during a typical week. For the typical day, the responses were coded on a five point scale: 0 = less than 15 minutes per day, 2 = 30 to 45 minutes a day, 4 = more than an hour.

Table M5.1

Employment Effect for the Item:

"Amount of Mother-Child Verbal Communication"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| On a typical day, how much does your child talk with you? | 2.86 | 3.04 | .02 | 2.98 |

On a typical day the nonemployed mothers reported talking to their children significantly more than did the employed. From the means we see, however, that in actual amount of time the two group means were not very far apart in number of minutes of talking. A code of 3 meant from 45 minutes to an hour a day and we see that the nonemployed averaged a little more and the employed a little less.

## M5.2 Topics of Communication Between Mother and Child

Turning to the content of this conversation, the mothers were asked to respond to a series of topics and, again on a five point scale, indicate the number of times they talked about these topics during the last week. The code was 0 = we did not talk about this, through 2 = 2 to 3 times this week, to 4 = we talked about it everyday.

Table M5.2

Employment Effect for the Items:

"What topics did you and your child talk about with each other last week?"
"Did you talk about the following?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Child-centered | | | | |
| School (during school year) | 3.33 | 3.47 | .01 | 3.42 |
| Child's friends | 2.40 | 2.35 | n.s. | 2.37 |
| Child's hobbies or interests | 2.29 | 2.39 | n.s. | 2.36 |
| Child's personal problems and feelings | 2.04 | 2.12 | n.s. | 2.09 |
| Overall mean | 2.51 | 2.58 | n.s. | 2.56 |
| Mother-centered | | | | |
| Your daily work - at home or job | 2.21 | 2.04 | .05 | 2.09 |
| Your personal problems or feelings | 1.38 | 1.38 | n.s. | 1.38 |
| Your hobbies or interests | 1.14 | 1.27 | n.s. | 1.23 |
| Overall mean | 2.11 | 2.14 | n.s. | 2.13 |

Among the child-centered items, the nonemployed talked to their child more about school than did the employed, but even though the difference was significant, the absolute difference was little. Both are above the 3 level which indicates "talked about it practically everyday." For the other topics, there was no difference.

Among the mother-centered items, the one item, "Your daily work," was more frequently talked about by the employed. This is a significant finding in that it indicates for the employed, the mother was more willing to talk about her things and thus be more of a "person" in her own right, in addition to discussing the child's school activities. The level of this topic was around the 2 level, having talked about it 2 or 3 times a week, so we have to think that even among the employed women, the child was a much more frequent topic of conversation than was the mother.

There were no other significant differences among the mother-centered items or for the neutral topic of current events (mean = 2.13). These seem to be discussed about the same in both types of homes.

## M5.3 Locus of Decision Making about the Child's Activities

Since greater responsibility was expected and found by the mothers who went to work, it was of interest to determine if working mothers did allow for more independence in their children. The mothers were asked a series of questions to determine the degree to which her child was allowed to make decisions regarding certain areas of hir life. The questions were on a five point scale and coded 0 = child had nothing to say about this area, 1 = less than half, 2 = half, 3 = most, 4 = all the say. The results are shown in the next table.

Table M5.3

Effect of Employment on the Items:

"How much say does your child usually have in these areas in relation to how much you have a say?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| What friends teenager can go around with | 2.43 | 2.24 | .01 | 2.30 |
| Choosing clothes for teenager | 2.29 | 2.09 | .01 | 2.15 |
| What shows, movies or parties teenager can go to | 1.68 | 1.53 | n.s. | 1.58 |
| How much spending money teenager can have | 1.55 | 1.40 | n.s. | 1.58 |
| How late teenager stays out | .88 | .74 | .05 | .79 |
| Overall mean | 1.77 | 1.60 | .05 | 1.65 |

Since the higher the score, the more say the child had, the table shows that for every comparison reported the child did have more of a say when his mother was working, but only three of the items were significantly different. The child had more of a say on choosing friends and clothes as well as how late he/she could stay out. The two items on shows and movies, and spending money, where the mother had more control of the money, showed no difference in terms of employment, but for selection of clothing, another area involving money, children of employed mothers seemed to make more of the decisions. The absolute level of the means for all but the items about friends and about clothes showed that the mothers were making more of the decisions than were the children, but in general, the employed mother's children were more independent than the nonemployed.

There was a significant second order interaction for the two items about what shows, movies or parties the child can go to, and what friends he may go out with. Among the employed, the husband-absent welfare group had the highest mean of any cell, indicating that the child had the most to say about it. Mothers in this group may have lost some control over their teenage children.

## M5.4 Comments about the Mother-Child Relationship

The employed mothers talked with their children more about areas of their own interests and projected a more active image, but the nonemployed talked more to their children about school matters. The nonemployed spent somewhat more time talking with their children on an average day. The working mother, being busier, may need to make more time to talk with her children. One way would be to have the children of employed mothers take a more active part in caring for the house so that they can talk while working together. Mrs. E., from the case study report, has done this:

> Although Mrs. E works full time, since she began working she has made a determined effort to allot periods of time each day just to be alone with her two children. She feels it is especially important for them to do and share things together now that she is working and their father is not living with them. They often cook things together or work on craft projects like making wreaths. They do things like go ice skating, roller skating, and swimming. Mrs. E feels that she and her children have become more involved with each other now than at any point in their lives.

It appears that the amount of control a mother had and the independence allowed the teenager was to some extent dependent upon the amount of control the child could take or the amount of permission the mother could withhold. Relating this question to the section where the mothers were asked to say what effect their working had on "how much responsibility the children would have, how much they would be on their own," this question seems to indicate what we have interpreted positively as a gain for employment, might be a loss according to the interpretation of the mothers. The investigators were thinking about "responsibility" as a positive quality, while from the mothers' responses to their child's activities, it seems that they were indicating that he/she was "more on his own" in the areas which mother could not control, and that therefore their previous responses might have been a negative consequence of working. Overall, mothers were still making over half of the decisions for all the areas except choice of friends and clothes. There was a suggestion that teenagers of employed mothers who had no father received less supervision in their social activities than did their counterparts whose mother was not employed. The fact that the children who were participating in school activities were more often those of employed mothers was a significant finding.

## M6 Working with Children as an Occupation

To what extent do mothers want to work with children as an occupation? Is a positive attitude towards this occupation found more among the nonemployed? Do women want to know more about children?

### M6.1 Attitudes Towards Working with Children as an Occupation

Women who are not now employed were much more likely to feel the results of their working would be negative, as we have reported. It might be that these women feel their greatest competence is in working with children and that, if given the opportunity, they might be willing to take a job in a day care center or as a teacher's aide.

The total sample was asked to indicate how they felt about taking care of other people's children, being a day care mother, or working in a nursery school or as a teacher's aide. Responses were on a five point scale. The codes were: 0 = dislike doing this, wouldn't even consider it; 1 = dislike it, probably wouldn't do this; 3 = would do this, but it is not attractive; and 4 = would like to do this. The overall mean was 2.37, with 37% indicating they disliked or wouldn't do the job, 24% would do it but were not particularly interested, but 38% would like to do it.

There was a significant difference between the employment groups with the nonemployed being much more positive toward this job (means = 2.51 vs. 2.10)***. There were no other significant comparisons for main effects or interactions. Fifty percent of the nonemployed,ex-welfare,husband-absent women would like this job - the highest percentage of any cell. Only 26% of the ex-welfare, employed, husband-present group wanted a job with children, the least interested cell.

## M6.2 Learning About Children as Part of Job Training

If women are to be trained for job force participation, their realistic concerns about their children have to be taken into consideration. One way to do this would be to offer instruction in child care and management as a part of job training. Nonemployed women considering going to work might be interested in having information about how to help their children succeed in school, which would help alleviate their fears about school performance if they took a job.

The sample of women were asked if they would be willing to sign up for classes about children. The responses were coded on a five point scale. Code 0 = definitely would not sign up, 1 = probably would not sign up, 3 = probably would sign up, and 4 = definitely would sign up. The results are shown in the table.

Table M6.2

Employment Effect for the Items:

"Would you go to a class to learn more about this subject?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Helping your children succeed in school | 2.55 | 2.63 | n.s. | 2.60 |
| How to manage children and help them grow up | 1.71 | 1.85 | n.s. | 1.81 |
| Overall mean | 2.13 | 2.28 | n.s. | 2.21 |

The marginals show that among the total sample, 73% of the women would probably, or definitely, sign up for classes to help their children succeed in school while 48% would probably, or definitely, sign up for classes in child management.

For both these comparisons, the employment effect was not significant but there was a significant main effect for welfare, with welfare women in both cases being significantly more interested in taking these classes (succeed in school means = 2.72 vs. 2.31)*** and (manage children means = 1.92 vs. 1.54)***.

### M6.3 Comments about Working with Children as an Occupation and Being Trained in Child Management

It appears as though many of the nonemployed women would like a job working with children and this should indeed be offered them as a vocational choice. With the unmet need for child care being so great, giving these women the chance to care for other's children is a realistic idea, if other factors in their lives indicate they would be appropriate for such a job.

The women in our sample were interested in their children enough so that they would be willing to take classes to learn more about them. With this much expressed interest in classes about children, people planning job training classes would be well advised to include lessons on child management and ways to help children succeed. This training might help women become more secure in knowing how to take care of their own children and so make them less hesitant about accepting jobs. This training should be extended to include job training for those interested in that field, but just as important, all the women should have the opportunity to learn how to do the other part of their job - taking care of children.

## M7 The Father Effect

The influence of a father in the home is of considerable interest today, since so many families have no fathers. If a mother goes to work and she has no husband in the home, does this mean that the child will get less parental guidance and will, as a result, do less well in school and deteriorate in general behavior? Data are available for the total sample on the husband's effect on the child's functioning, on the influence of mother's working on the child, and on the mother's communication with her teenager. Data are available only on the husband-present families concerning father's contact and communication with the teenager, and on the father's responsibility for disciplining the teenager.

## M7.1 The Effect of Father-Presence or Absence

For most of the items reported in this chapter there were no differences between the husband-absent and husband-present groups. There were no differences for grades, for expectations for the teenager to graduate, for expectations for his future plans after graduation. There were no differences in the number of school drop outs, in attitudes towards working, in holding an after-school job, or in the child's ambitiousness.

When the mothers were asked to tell the effects their working had, or would have if they were employed, on the behavior of their children in general, some interesting differences were found between the husband-absent and the husband-present.

It has already been reported that there was an employment effect on the mother's answer to the question, "Now tell me whether you feel your working has had an overall effect on the problems you have with your children." A significant interaction of marital with employment status helps to clarify the effect of the husband.

Table M7.1

Interaction of Marital with Employment Status for the Item: "Overall effect of mother's employment on problems with children"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Husband-absent | 1.11 | .89 |
| Husband-present | 1.34 | .80 |

$p < .02$

The interaction shows that among the employed, the husband-absent found more problems than did the husband-present. Since the mean for the husband-present was below 2, the neutral point, more of these women were reporting problems than were reporting no problems. There appears to be less marital effect for this comparison among the nonemployed.

Table M7.1a shows the mean values for the marital main effect on the question of effects of the mother's working. The means for the employment effect have already been discussed in the body of the report. For 11 out of the 12 items, (not including strictness) the employed reported less negative effects than the nonemployed anticipated and also reported more positive effects than the nonemployed thought would occur. The code was 0 = very negative effect, 2 = no difference, and 4 = very positive change.

The marital effect comparisons show that for eight out of the 12 items there were significant differences between the husband-present and the husband-absent. In every case, the husband-absent reported less negative or more positive effects than the husband-present.

### Table M7.1a

### Father Effect for the Item:

### "What do you (mother) think the effect of your working will be on your children?"

| Items | Husband-absent | Husband-present | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mother-child relationships | | | |
| How highly they think of you | 2.21 | 2.02 | .001 |
| Your strictness with them | 1.95 | 1.91 | n.s. |
| How much time you spend with them | 1.32 | 1.24 | .05 |
| Overall mean | 1.63 | 1.72 | |
| Personal behavior | | | |
| How happy they feel | 1.75 | 1.71 | n.s. |
| Their appearance and grooming | 1.85 | 1.76 | .05 |
| How much responsibility they have | 2.17 | 2.14 | n.s. |
| How well they behave | 1.75 | 1.67 | .06 |
| Overall mean | 1.88 | 1.82 | |
| Social and interpersonal behavior | | | |
| How well they get along with friends | 2.06 | 1.94 | .01 |
| The kids they run around with | 1.79 | 1.72 | .02 |
| How well your children get along with each other | 1.78 | 1.64 | .01 |
| Overall mean | 1.88 | 1.77 | |
| School functioning | | | |
| Their plans for the future | 2.17 | 2.06 | .05 |
| How well they do in school | 1.84 | 1.70 | .001 |
| Overall mean | 2.01 | 1.88 | |

The women without husbands more than women with husbands thought the effect of their working would increase how much their children thought of them, and would be more likely to stimulate the children to make better plans for the future.

The differences between the two groups were small but consistently in favor of the husband-absent thinking there would be less negative effect on time spent with the children, grooming and appearance, general behavior, getting along with friends and siblings, and on how well they would do in school.

Significant interactions of marital with employment status were found for four of these items: how well the children were doing in school, their appearance and grooming, their plans for the future, and how well they got along with friends. All of these comparisons showed the same effect so the item on school performance will be presented as representative of all.

Table M7.1b

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item: "How has your working effected how well your children are doing in school?"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Husband-absent | 1.92 | 1.80 |
| Husband-present | 1.96 | 1.58 |

$p < .002$

The table shows that husband-absence or presence did not make a difference when the women were already employed, but among the nonemployed, the women with a husband at home predicted a much more negative effect than did the women without a husband.

### M7.2 Husband Effect on Mother-Child Communication

When the women were asked to report the amount of conversation they had with their teenager on various topics, the results, already reported, showed that the only difference between the employed and the nonemployed were that the employed talked more often to their child about their work and the nonemployed talked more to their child about school.

Table M7.2

Father Effect on the Mother-Child Communication Items: "About how often do you and your teenager talk about the following?"

| Item | Husband-absent | Husband-present | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Child-centered | | | |
| How many times a week do you talk about school (during the school year) | 3.49 | 3.35 | .07 |
| His friends | 2.44 | 2.29 | .05 |
| His hobbies and interests | 2.44 | 2.27 | .01 |
| His personal problems | 2.06 | 2.13 | n.s. |
| Mother-centered | | | |
| Your daily work at home or job | 2.17 | 2.02 | n.s. |
| Your hobbies and interests | 1.20 | 1.26 | n.s. |
| Your personal problems | 1.36 | 1.40 | n.s. |
| Current events | 2.21 | 2.07 | .05 |

There were three significant items differentiating the two marital groups and an additional item with a strong tendency. All of these items were in favor of the husband-absent women. The women with no husbands talked to their teenager more about school topics, about his friends and hobbies, and about current events. It would appear that for the women with no husband to talk to, there was more time to talk to the child and perhaps more attempt to talk to the child as a person since there was no father. The item about current events is interesting in that the women without husbands were giving their children more outside interests, as well as paying more attention to the child's personal interests.

### M7.3 Father-Child Relationship

Just about half of our sample had fathers listed as present in the home (632 vs. 693 father-absent). In some homes, another man was acting as a father, and for some children, ties were maintained with the father even though he was not living in the home. The data are presented for those families where there was a father-present.

The first questions are concerned with the mother's judgment about the amount and quality of the contact the father had with the teenage child who was the subject of the previous sections. All were coded from 0 to 3.

Table M7.3
Employment Effect on the Items:
"Amount and quality of father-child contact"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| How often does your teenager see and talk with hir father | 2.66 | 2.72 | n.s. | 2.70 |
| How does your child's father feel about his children | 2.35 | 2.47 | n.s. | 2.43 |
| How close would you say your teenager feels to hir father? | 2.13 | 2.29 | .05 | 2.24 |

The frequency of father-child contact was coded from 0 = less than once a month, 1 = at least once a month, 2 = several times a week, to 3 = everyday. The children in the father-present homes saw their father practically everyday.

For the item about the father's feelings about his children, the overall mean for the father-present group was 2.43 on a scale where 2 = moderate amount of interest in his children and 3 = a great interest. It is apparent that fathers present in the home were very involved in their children's activities and concerned about them. There were no differences in any of the subgroups.

The item on the child's feeling of closeness to the father was coded from 0 = not at all close to 3 = very close. The overall mean shows that mothers in general thought their child felt quite close to the father. There was a significant difference between employment groups with the employed having a lower mean than the nonemployed (means = 2.13 vs. 2.29)*. A significant interaction shows the effect of welfare on this comparison.

Table M7.3a

Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status for the Item: "How close does your teenager feel towards hir father?" (Father-present only)

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | 2.29 | 2.27 |
| Ex-welfare | 2.02 | 2.32 |
| | p .05 | |

From this table, it is seen that among the nonemployed, welfare status makes little difference, but among the employed, being off welfare was associated with the child's feeling of less closeness to hir father. Perhaps the fathers of these children had to work so hard to get their family off welfare that they did not have the time to do the things with the child that the others found time to do.

For the father-present families, the question was asked about the person who was more responsible for disciplining the teenage child. The answers were from 0 = husband has a lot more say, through 2 = husband and wife about equal, to 4 = wife has a lot more say. The overall mean was 1.99 indicating that this task was equally shared by both. There was a nonsignificant difference between the employment groups with families of employed women tending toward more wife dominance than families of nonemployed wives (means = 2.12 vs. 1.93, $p < .07$)

### M7.4 Comments about the Father Effect

The results of this section have been most revealing. Although there were not many questions about the father, since the study was primarily concerned with women and their functioning, these questions have brought to light some interesting findings. When there was a father in the home, in general there was a good, mutually supportive relationship with the children. The children thought highly of the father and the father loved the children, according to the report of the mother. However, whether the father was present in the home or not, it appears that it makes very little difference in the functioning of the child. This shows the importance of the mother on the development of the child and indicates that mothers are justified in getting a great deal of pleasure from the children and being concerned about the children if they go to work.

On the other hand, since the comparisons indicated that the employment of the mother did not make as much negative difference as the nonemployed anticipated, and husband-absence was associated with better functioning in several ways, the legitimate question is raised as to how much "parenting" a child needs. The results of this study could be cited as a support for the idea that the actual amount of time with children is not as important as the quality of that interaction. If there was no father in the home, the mother apparently had more time to talk to the child about his hobbies and interests, and more time to talk about current events.

It would appear that the content of the conversations in the homes when there was no father was more child-centered and also more outward directed toward external events. This may be a positive outcome.

There seems to be an interaction effect of mothers working and father-presence. The effect of mother's employment is in general not negative, and in several ways appears to be positive, especially for the respect the children afford her and for children's expectations for the future. Father-presence enhanced the positive effect of mother's employment on some factors, especially work attitudes, while father-presence among the nonemployed women seemed to depress child functioning.

The husband-absent women who were not now working were much less apt to think that their working would be negative for their children than were the husband-present women. The husband-absent women, in many of the comparisons, were very much like the presently employed in their expectations for the outcome of work on their children. It would appear that many of these women would gladly take a job if they could find one and if they could find good care for their children.

The negative expectations of the husband-present women again shows this to be a home-bound group dominated by their husbands and by their fears of moving out of the home. They either have greater problems than others or else use these problems as rationalizations.

### M8 Summary and Comments about the Employed Woman as Mother

The level of satisfaction mothers had with their children was quite high and there were no differences about the level of satisfaction according to the employment status of the mother. The mothers were most satisfied with the mother-child relationship although they were most concerned about the effect of their employment upon this relationship. They were least satisfied about their child's school functioning, but they felt that their working would have least effect. The nonemployed expected more school work deterioration if they were to work even though there was no difference in the school grades of the two groups. When the mothers' reports of school grades were compared with actual grades taken from the school records there were no significant differences. The employed felt that the children would respect them more if they worked.

The nonemployed were more likely to have quit work because they had a child who was ill than were the employed. The nature of these child illnesses and the extent to which they were short or long term needs to be investigated. What preventive measures would be most useful?

Teenage children were more likely to take part in extracurricular school activities if the wife worked. The children of welfare, employed, husband-absent women and ex-welfare, nonemployed, husband-present women took part in more extracurricular activities. In the former case it may be that the mothers had a need for these arrangements for their children and also were more aggressive in helping their children "get ahead." In the latter case the mothers had more time and energy to make use of transportation arrangements needed for many of the child's activities. The welfare employed may have transmitted more of their general level of ambition to the child so that he was willing to make the effort required.

The long term plans of the groups of children were quite similar but the teenage child in the family with an employed mother was somewhat more likely to plan on going to a four year college while the counterpart in a family with a nonemployed mother was more likely to seek a job after high school. Although there was no difference in the attitudes of the two groups of teenagers toward working, those with an employed mother were more likely to actually be working at a part time job while they were in school. It may be that the teenagers with employed mothers had a model of a more ambitious mother but whether the mothers were employed or not, 12% of them reported their child (presumably girls) had decided to get married immediately after school and not look for a job or go for additional training. This 12% of both boys and girls represented about a quarter of the girls. It is probable that many of these girls will ultimately find themselves in the labor market and at that time will regret not having job experience or additional training. Since the mothers were able to make a statement about their daughter's intentions following high school, it would seem possible to identify these girls early enough to give them special counseling to help them develop attitudes and skills to increase their options.

The mother-child relationship was quite positive for the sample as a whole but the nonemployed were more likely to spend more time talking to their child on an average day and to talk more about the child's school activities. The employed, on the other hand, were more likely to discuss the mother's day. Being out of the home she was more likely to have something of interest to talk about with her child as well as a need to discuss things with somebody.

When there were no differences between the employment, welfare, and marital groups the descriptions of the children and their functioning by the mother provided a picture of a large group of low income teenagers. It should be noted that the data about the teenagers were gathered from the mother. There was no verification of these data except for the school grades, where the mothers statements were confirmed by the school records. Since the focus of the study is on the mothers attitudes, her appraisal of her child's behavior is the significant element.

The children of employed mothers had more to say about the friends they chose and how late they could stay out at night. Whether this represented a greater degree of independence by these children or a loss of control by the mother is uncertain, but those activities which the mother could not control by finances tended to be taken over more by the teenagers if the mother worked. It could be that being more independent herself, she was more likely to give independence to her children.

Whether there was a father in the home or not did not seem to have very much effect on the functioning of the children in regard to grades, plans for the future, after-school jobs or the teenagers attitudes towards working. When there was a father present in the home, the mothers reported that the children had high regard for him and that the father felt he had a close relationship with the children.

The mother's report of differences in the child's functioning if she worked or anticipated going to work showed that mothers with no husband present anticipated less negative effects of employment on the child than did the woman with a husband. Interactions showed that when the mother was working, there was less negative effect if there was a father at home, but when the mother was not working there was more negative effect anticipated when the man was present. It would appear that among these low income families, a husband who allows his wife to work may also agree to help in housework and child care which then eases the burden of the working wife. On the other hand, if the husband will not let his wife work, of if his condition is such that she feels she cannot, then there is greater negative effect on the children anticipated by the nonworking wife. This may be a self protective device.

There were significant marital effects for the topics of conversation between mothers and children with the mothers who were raising their children alone finding time to talk to their children more about the child's hobbies and about current events than did those women who also had a husband with whom they interacted.

The ex-welfare women who were employed, more than other groups, tended to report having more disciplinary control over their children than their husband did. They also reported that he seemed to have a less close relationship with the children than others reported. Did the effort necessary to get off welfare take a certain type of husband's character which is also less warm toward the family and more passive towards the wife's dominance in the family? Or was the difference attributable to greater dominance of the woman who had gone out to work to help supplement the family budget? Did the same qualities which enabled her to get and hold a job also make her more likely to take firmer control of the children?

Findings in favor of the children of the employed may be interpreted as showing that children of mothers who go to work would be apt to do better than children of mothers who stay at home. Since there have been many findings in this report which indicate that the employed women were more efficient and better educated, it may be that the differences noted in the children may be attributable to the mother's more effective personality.

The chapter, "The Employed Woman as a Person," will discuss the self perceptions including her self esteem and will help resolve this dilemma.

### M9 Implications about the Employed Woman as Mother

1. The physical condition of the children especially of the nonemployed should be investigated to determine whether remedial measures for the children are indicated.

2. When a mother stays home from work because her child is ill, this time should be counted against her sick leave or some other provision should be made so that she will not lose her job.

3. Home care aides should be available to assist the woman at these emergency periods. The definition of an emergency should be more loosely defined. When a mother has a child who has even a minor illness she cannot leave the child at home nor should she have one of the older children stay home to care for the child.

4. The information about the more effective functioning of the teenagers of employed mothers should be transmitted to the nonemployed so that they can assess their own situation.

5. The greater independence of the teenagers should be evaluated to determine whether this is more harmful than helpful. There were fewer school drop outs by children of mothers who worked, and no differences in their grades.

6. Although women in general thought that there was a negative effect of their working on their children, there was no greater effect for those without husbands than those with husbands. While there should be further studies done, it appears than in terms of its impact on children, women without a husband might as well work. When the husband was present, however, he was an asset providing some help to the woman when she worked and warmth to the child.

# CHAPTER VII

# THE EMPLOYED WOMAN AS A WIFE

This section focuses on the ways in which the married woman was influenced by her husband and how their relationship to each other differed if she worked. Relatively little is known about the family relationships where instrumental functions are carried on by the wife in addition to her homemaking tasks. Is this alternate life style pattern as satisfying to the couple as the more traditional one? To answer this question we focused on the married couple, contrasting the employed and the nonemployed. The sample discussed here is the husband-present group except where noted.

## W1 Some Characteristics of the Husband

In this section we shall examine the husband's occupational functioning and his physical condition.

### W1.1 Occupational Functioning of the Husband

The first question asked was about the husband's participation in the labor force. Fifty-eight percent of the married women had a husband who was employed full time at the time of the study and an additional 10% were part time employees. Four percent were not employed but were looking for a job. The remaining 28% were not in the labor force, which means they were not working and not looking for a job.

There was no difference between the two wife employment groups regarding the employment status of the husband. He was as likely to work as to not work, regardless of her employment. However, there was a significant welfare status effect; the ex-welfare husbands were more likely to be employed than the present welfare recipients (75% vs. 43%)

The following is a table of the husband's occupations.

Table W1.1

Husband's Usual Occupation

| Occupation | Percent |
|---|---|
| Transportation | 17 |
| Construction | 16 |
| Factory | 15 |
| Laborer | 7 |
| Service | 5 |
| Repair | 3 |
| Farm | 2 |
| Clerical | 2 |
| Professional | 2 |
| Managerial | 2 |
| Other | 5 |
| Not working | 14 |
| Not applicable | 10 |
| Total | 100 |

The transportation related occupations, specifically truck driving and mechanics, were most frequent. The least frequent occupations were the three white collar ones. In general, the occupational level was semi- and unskilled.

### W1.2 Husband's Illness

For this question we defined serious illness as having to stay in bed for at least a week.

When asked about who in the household had a serious illness within the past twelve months, 72% of the sample reported that the husband had not been seriously ill enough to be in bed for a week. Twenty-three percent reported that he had been ill once and an additional 5% said he was ill more than once. This number underestimates the extent of physical impairment since a number of the men had disabilities that did not require being in bed. The nonemployed women had husbands who were more likely to be ill although the difference was only at the level of .08. The major difference was that those formerly on welfare had fewer illnesses (34% vs. 21%).

Of the 28% who were not in the labor force, 86% were sick or disabled. The remainder were not looking for work for unspecified reasons which may be related to their personal instability. The husbands presently on welfare were much more likely to be unemployed because of sickness or disability than those who were formerly on welfare (36% vs. 12%)

## W1.3 Comments about the Husband's Characteristics

Many of the women had a husband who was disabled or had been seriously ill. It was especially marked among those presently on welfare. Since a woman was as likely to be employed or not regardless of her husband's employment status, finding a job for him would not necessarily remove her from the labor force, but would help the family get off welfare. Many families with one working parent were not able to get along without assistance.

The high frequency of husbands' physical problems demands further study to determine the extent of these illnesses and the possibility of physical rehabilitation. Several of the case studies reported instances where the husband had been a good provider, then something had happened and he had not worked since that instance. The husbands reported how useless they felt having to stay at home. The wives, however, complained about how they thought the husband could do some kind of work if he really wanted to, but admitted that he could no longer operate at the same level as before. Thorough examinations with a view towards physical, occupational, and psychological rehabilitation would be worthwhile.

Barbara Francis, in the intensive case study reports, describes the relationship between women and disabled husbands and the alternate life styles they have developed.

> The women with a disabled husband tend to hold "traditional" attitudes towards their roles as wives and mothers. Both they and their husbands usually agree that a woman's place should be in the home caring for the family. In most cases, caring for the family also implies attending to the needs of a husband who is unemployed due to ill health of some sort. Mrs. N and Mrs. Q both fit what might be called the "Failed Patriarchy" pattern.
>
> Both Mrs. N and Mrs. Q are first generation, central European immigrants who are over fifty years old, lacking in education and skills, still having difficulty speaking English. The fact that they both had their first children so late in life further differentiates them from many of the other women in the sample. Both husbands feel close to their wives and family and are unlikely to desert them. Mr. Q does not speak English well and has been unemployed since an accident about ten years ago. He feels that he is a burden on the family and tries to keep busy doing housework and watching T.V. He says, "Now I'm disabled. I'm willing to work but I can't and am very unhappy." When asked what he would be doing if he could have any kind of job he wanted, he replied, "Anything," and that he would work even if he were guaranteed an adequate income "just for pleasure."

The next sections will explore the ways in which the marriage functions differentially for the two employment groups.

## W2 Locus of Marital Decision Making

To what extent did married women who worked have more to say about matters affecting both themselves and their husband than did the nonworking wife? Did the nonemployed women think that they would have as much to say if they worked as the working women actually had?

There were six items indexing the variable, "locus of marital decision making." Five of them were on the same dimension with a score of 0 indicating that the husband had a lot more say than the wife, through a score of 2 showing that the husband and wife had an equal say, and a score of 4 showing that the wife had a lot more say. The last item asked the direct question about whether the wife thought she had more or less say when she worked. The nonemployed were to anticipate the amount of say they would have if they were to work. The higher the score in every case, the higher the wife power.

The overall mean for the six items was 2.01 indicating overall equality in marital decision making. The wives thought they had most to say about how the moeny they earned should be spent and least to say about whether or not they should work. The discipline of the child was closest to being equally shared by the couple.

Table W2

Employment Effect for the Items:

"Decision Making"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| How wife spends her money | 2.46 | 2.36 | n.s. | 2.39 |
| Say in family matters because of employment | 2.28 | 2.19 | .001 | 2.22 |
| Child discipline | 2.12 | 1.93 | n.s. | 1.99 |
| Major purchases for the home | 1.92 | 1.87 | n.s. | 1.88 |
| What couple does on evening out | 1.87 | 1.78 | n.s. | 1.81 |
| Whether wife should work | 2.29 | 1.52 | .001 | 1.76 |
| Overall mean | 2.16 | 1.94 | .01 | 2.01 |

There was a significant overall employment effect with the employed women having more to say in their families than the nonemployed. The difference between the two groups was significant for only two of the items, both concerned with the wife's employment: whether or not she should work and the effect of her working on her power in the family. The nonemployed women reported that the husband had more say in regard to whether the wife should be employed and apparently this meant that the wife was not to work. The employed women reported that they had more say in other family matters as a result of employment, more than the nonemployed anticipated they would have if they were to work. For all other items, there were no differences in locus of decision making between the employed and the nonemployed, indicating that there was no generalized difference for the locus of decision making for the two employment groups but that the difference was particularized to employment related areas.

There was an interaction effect with welfare for the amount of decision making the wife had about the amount of say she had in regard to her employment.

Table W2a

Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status for the Item: "Final say about whether or not the wife should work."

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | 2.34 | 1.51 |
| Ex-welfare | 2.10 | 1.53 |

$p < .05$

There was no effect of welfare status on the nonemployed, but for the employed, the presently werlfare women had more to say about working than did those formerly on welfare.

## W2.1 Comments about Locus of Marital Decision Making

The nonemployed women's attributing the decision about their employment to the husband may either be due to his greater influence over her or she may use him as an excuse for not working. Since there was no significant difference between the two employment groups in decision making areas other than about the woman's working, this area was a crucial and differential area in their lives and not a result of greater overall husband dominance in the nonemployed. In any case, the influence of the husband was very important to these nonworking women. The case studies were replete with references about husbands who felt strongly that the woman's place was in the home. It is interesting how the nonemployed women minimized a potential gain by stating that their employment would not result in their having more say if they were to work. Since they adopted a more traditional role in general, it may be that having more power was not perceived by them as a gain. Several of the case study women, however, took over more of the family decision making when they started to work and were reluctant to give it up. They liked being instrumental.

The greater degree of decision making by the welfare employed about their working was another indication of their greater self reliance and determination. Welfare status may legitimize women's working by adding the external reality of need for more income to a woman's latent interest in working.

## W3 Satisfaction with Marriage

One of the reasons given for women's employment is that they have a less happy marriage and working is a compensation for this unhappiness. Marital satisfaction was tested in two ways.

### W3.1 Overall Marital Satisfaction

The item was similar to one used by Feldman in assessing the level of marital satisfaction of a middle class urban sample of 850 couples. In the present study the scale ranged from a score of 0 meaning that things were never going well, through a score of 3 indicating that things were going well half of the time, to a score of 6 meaning that things were going well all of the time. The overall mean score was 4.26, indicating a level between most of the time and nearly all of the time. About 20% reported that things were going well with their marriage half of the time or less. Forty percent said it was at the most of the time level and about 40% said their marriage was going well all or nearly all of the time.

In the middle class study there were no differences between the two employment groups in their level of marital satisfaction. For the present sample of lower class women, the nonemployed had a somewhat higher satisfaction level (means = 4.39 vs. 3.99)***. This finding was confirmed by another question which asked the women about how much of a problem or a source of satisfaction they found in relation to their husband or men in general. The nonemployed responded with a higher level of satisfaction. The scale was from a score of 0 indicating that it was a very important problem, to 4 meaning that it was a source of a lot of satisfaction. The mean scores were 2.87 for the employed and 3.05 for the nonemployed with a p value of .06.

### W3.2 Husband's Satisfaction with the Wife's Functioning

The wives responded in terms of how satisfied they thought the husband was with them in five areas, and also with his own work status in order to compare his satisfaction with hers. The scores ranged from a score of 0 indicating no satisfaction, to 4 indicating a great deal of satisfaction. The three items with the highest level of satisfaction attributed to the husband were related to her functioning as a mother and homemaker. He was less happy with the amount of time she spent with him and with her work status. The overall mean (2.91) was at the moderately satisfied level.

The lowest mean shown in the table is the wives' reports of the husbands' satisfaction in his job. Wives apparently felt the husbands were more satisfied with their home life, created by the wife, than with their external work life.

Table W3.2

Employment Effect for the Items:

"How satisfied do you think your husband is with each of the following?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kind of meals | 3.16 | 3.40 | .001 | 3.32 |
| How children are raised | 3.10 | 3.21 | n.s. | 3.17 |
| Neat and clean home | 2.94 | 3.07 | n.s. | 3.03 |
| Amount of time spent with him | 2.48 | 3.08 | .001 | 2.89 |
| Wife's work status | 2.74 | 2.95 | .05 | 2.88 |
| Husband's work status | 2.21 | 2.22 | n.s. | 2.21 |
| Overall mean | 2.77 | 2.99 | .01 | 2.91 |

The nonemployed wives thought that the husband was more satisfied with their functioning than did the employed. This difference was especially pronounced for the feeling that the wives did not spend enough time with the husbands. Employed wives reported the husbands were less satisfied with the meals served and with the employment status of the wife. Each of the means that was significant for employment status was also significant for welfare status. The formerly welfare wives felt that the husband was more satisfied. The employed welfare wives thought the husbands were less satisfied than did the nonemployed formerly welfare (means = 2.60 vs. 3.80)***.

In order to explore further the content of the marital relationship, questions were asked about areas of marital conflict to determine if there was more conflict or less for the married workers.

## W4 Marital Conflict

Subjects were asked to state the main areas of disagreement and there was one probe for an additional response. Responses were coded 0 = not mentioned and 1 = mentioned.

Values reported equal percent listing the topic as a source of disagreement.

Table W4

Effect of Employment on the Items:

"Areas of Marital Disagreement"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Children | .43 | .49 | n.s. | .47 |
| Money | .45 | .40 | n.s. | .42 |
| Relatives | .19 | .16 | n.s. | .17 |
| His personal habits | .19 | .14 | n.s. | .16 |
| Household chores | .16 | .12 | n.s. | .13 |
| Other | .10 | .12 | n.s. | .12 |
| His work | .11 | .08 | n.s. | .09 |
| Her work | .14 | .07 | .01 | .09 |
| Sex | .14 | .07 | .01 | .09 |
| Her personal habits | .06 | .06 | n.s. | .06 |
| Total | 1.95 | 1.71 | n.s. | 1.80 |

The two areas of greatest disagreement were about children and money, reported by almost one half of the sample. The remaining areas were reported by one sixth or less with the lowest frequencies being her habits, her work, his work, and sex. It is interesting that the wives reported more disagreement about the husbands' habits than the wives' habits. One wonders what the reports would be from the husbands. Conflicts about work, his and hers, were low on the list, but her work was one of the two items where there was a significant difference between the two employment groups with the employed reporting more conflict in this area. Apparently, since the nonemployed had already made the decision not to work, this was not then a source of conflict for them. Sex, as an area of conflict, was more often mentioned by the employed.

The greater marital disagreement about the wife's working for the employed group was to be expected although it was not more frequent than for the husband's work. Another way to interpret the finding was that 86% of the couples with an employed wife had no disagreement about her working, at least as reported by the wife.

### W4.1 Comments about Marital Satisfaction and Conflict

The finding of a significant difference in overall level of marital satisfaction between the two employment groups suggests that there may be a pattern of different life styles which were not equally compatible for the two groups. These life style differences, where the women enter the instrumental role of financial provider, were more threatening to the husbands' self esteem and the marriage. The women who had a paying job outside of the home and also had to take the major responsibility for care of the home felt they were neglecting their husbands in terms of the time they were able to spend with them and the time they had to cook him the kinds of food he preferred. When a woman worked something had to go.

The woman's working was a sore spot in the marriage. Not only was it an area of less satisfaction for the employed but it also was a source of greater disagreement for them, more than for the nonworking. It is interesting, however, that most of the husbands were satisfied with the working status of the wife whether or not she worked. Where it was a source of tension it was more so for the employed.

Children and money were found to be major sources of conflict and here about a quarter of the sample mentioned each as their most important source of conflict. Overt disagreements about children may have become the focus for other latent problems, such as threats to family authority, rivalry for the affection of the children, differences in values between the parents, and generational differences. All of these are made more complicated by economic deprivation. A father who is not a good provider becomes less of a model for his children and may at the same time have an even greater need for their respect about his authority.

The findings about the significance of money is corroborated by a number of other studies. The way couples manage their finances is quite indicative of other elements in their relationship. Money management has a number of latent meanings: trust in another, hostility, power over another. These meanings, which can occur in families which are not economically marginal, are even more loaded in families that have economic deprivation.

In families where the women provide all or some of the support for the family, the independece this affords them may create tensions in the family leading to conflict. Conflict may be felt and lived with or may be compensated for by the woman being more sensitive to the needs of the husband. The women in this sample recognized that they were not doing as much for their husbands and that he was not quite as satisfied as the nonemployed women thought their husbands were, but still there seemed to be little deference to him in areas of decision making, which could be thought of as compensation.

Conflict about sex may be one of the reasons a woman goes to work, but on the other hand, many husbands resist their wives' going to work because they fear that at work she may become sexually involved with another man. This feeling was expressed by several in the case studies where the husband watched over her carefully and wanted to be sure she came directly home from work.

### W5 Husband's Attitudes about the Wife's Working

The women were asked to indicate how they thought the husband would feel about their working. The question was stated hypothetically so both employment groups would respond.

### Table W5

### Employment Effect for the Items:

### "If a woman works, how likely do you think it is that her husband will feel the following ways?" *

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Children will suffer | .85 | 1.64 | .001 | 1.39 |
| Husband should be family supporter | 1.40 | 1.38 | n.s. | 1.38 |
| Husband will respect her more | 1.20 | .82 | .001 | .94 |
| She should be family supporter | .88 | .76 | n.s. | .80 |
| Overall mean | 1.08 | 1.15 | n.s. | 1.13 |

The women thought husbands would be most concerned about the effect on the children and that her working would indicate he was not able to be the family supporter. They were less likely to perceive that he would respect her more or that he would adopt the position that it was acceptable for her to help with supporting the family. The difference in attitude between the two employment groups was reflected in two questions. The nonemployed felt very much more strongly that the husband would feel that the children would suffer, while the employed felt that the husband would respect her more if she worked.

On another item, indicating husbands' attitude, the nonemployed women felt more strongly that the husbands' disapproval was a more important reason for them not to return to work after having a baby than did the employed (means = .68 vs. .42)***.

One clue in aiding the interpretation of the women's attitudes about the husband and work is found in the item, "Men should be expected to help with the housework." A score of 0 meant that the women strongly disagreed, and a score of 4 meant that they strongly agreed. The overall score was 2.18 with 39% of the women disagreeing to any extent and 61% agreeing.

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* 0 = not at all likely, 1 = somewhat, 2 = quite likely, 3 = very likely

The employed were much more likely to agree that the husband should help (means = 2.62 vs. 1.97)***.

## W5.1 Comments About Husband's Attitudes on the Wife's Working

The nonemployed were more likely to perceive themselves in the more traditional way in relation to the husband and they were more concerned about the effect on him of their working. They were also under the impression that he did not want them to work and that the decision about their employment was his to make. The attitude of the husband about the employment of the wife appears to be one of the most crucial factors regarding the wife's employment, and one that is not directly dealt with in most programs about the women's employment.

Husbands are often jealous and attempt to cloister their wives in the home. Mrs. X's first husband forbid either her or the children to go outside the yard around their isolated rural home. She says she kept from "going crazy" by babysitting for small children in her home whenever her husband would let her. Mr. K was extremely possessive of his wife's time and attention. He urged her to put the children in foster homes and imposed restrictions on all her activities. Although she was often employed, this was her only escape. "I wasn't even supposed to go anywhere or do anything on my own. I couldn't even see the girls I worked with after work. I was supposed to come straight home, and we never had any friends."

## W6 Attitudes about the Husband Not Working

This section deals with women's attitudes about husbands not working and its effect both on the husband and themselves.

## W6.1 Effect on the Wife of the Husband Not Working

The first question asked about the problems other than financial ones which a wife had when her husband was not working. Questions were first asked about the effect on her and then about the effect on him. A code of 0 = strongly disagree and a code of 4 = strongly agree.

Table W6.1

Employment Effect for the Items:

"What are the problems for a woman when her husband is not working?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Negative Effect | | | | |
| She feels cheated | 2.44 | 2.04 | .01 | 2.18 |
| She must work even if she doesn't want to | 1.46 | 1.15 | .01 | 1.26 |
| Overall mean | 1.95 | 1.80 | .01 | 1.72 |
| Positive Effect | | | | |
| Gives her a reason for working | 3.09 | 2.35 | .001 | 2.61 |
| Makes her feel strong | 2.39 | 2.02 | .01 | 2.15 |
| Overall mean | 2.69 | 2.19 | .01 | 2.38 |

The women felt, in general, that the impact of the husbands not working was more positive than negative. This should not be interpreted to mean that they preferred having a nonworking husband, but that if he did not work there were some positive consequences to her. These were that she had a reason to work and she felt stronger. Her ambivalence was clear; she felt cheated but did not feel that she would have to work if she did not want to.

There were significant mean differences attributable to the employment effect for all of the items with the employed feeling both more positive and more negative about the husband not working. If the husband was not working, the wife had a strong reason for working but her ambivalence was clear since she felt cheated more than the nonemployed.

The next section looks at the impact on the husband if he is not working as viewed by the wife.

## W6.2 Effect on the Husband if He is Not Working

The women now were to view the problem from the husband's point of view.

Table W6.2

Employment Effect for the Item.

"What are the problems for a husband when he is not working?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Negative Effect | | | | |
| He argues more | 2.46 | 2.50 | n.s. | 2.47 |
| He feels less of a man | 2.44 | 2.04 | .01 | 2.18 |
| Overall mean | 2.45 | 2.27 | .05 | 2.33 |
| Positive Effect | | | | |
| He pays more attention to the family | 2.60 | 2.53 | n.s. | 2.56 |
| He prefers to stay at home | 1.79 | 1.83 | n.s. | 1.81 |
| Overal mean | 2.20 | 2.18 | n.s. | 2.19 |

The women felt that the husband's not working would be only slightly more negative than positive! What seemed quite surprising was that they did not agree more with the statement that if a husband did not work he would feel less like a man! They did agree more strongly that his not working would result in his paying more attention to his family. Maybe they valued this family interest in the nonworking husband. On the other hand, they did note that he would be more likely to argue more if he was not working. They did not feel that he preferred to stay at home, but the score for this item was not so low as to indicate that there was much rejection of the idea. In other words, they did not feel the husband would be castrated by the idea of not working and they felt he might even like not working a little.

There was a significant employment effect for the item about the husband's feeling less like a man if he did not work, with the employed agreeing more with the item. Because they are working they may be more sensitive to the emasculating effect of his unemployment. The fact that there was no difference for the other three items was very interesting, indicating that there may be a sub-cultural set of values independent of the woman's working.

### W6.3 Effects on the Wife of Her Working When the Husband Does Not Work

The last two sections reported on the attitudes women had about how their husbands would feel if they worked and then how the women would feel if their husbands did not work. In the items below, the focus is on how the wife thinks her working affects both of them when her husband is not working.

Table W6.3

Employment Effect for the Items:

"When a wife works and a husband doesn't, what are the effects on her?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Negative Effect | | | | |
| She does special things because husband is unhappy | 2.47 | 2.61 | n.s. | 2.56 |
| She feels she is doing more than her share | 1.47 | 1.48 | n.s. | 1.48 |
| Overall mean | 1.92 | 2.05 | n.s. | 2.02 |
| Positive Effect | | | | |
| She feels helpful | 2.51 | 2.29 | n.s. | 2.37 |
| She feels important | 2.27 | 2.34 | n.s. | 2.32 |
| Overall mean | 2.39 | 2.32 | n.s. | 2.35 |

The women, here too, felt there were more positive than negative effects of his not working. They felt they were being helpful and felt important when they worked and he didn't. On the other hand, they agreed most with the item that the husband would be unhappy and that it would be incumbent upon them to do special things for him to make up for it. They disagreed with the idea that they were doing more than their share. Although the women felt a good deal of sympathy for a nonworking husband, they felt there were some positive consequences to themselves if they had to work under this circumstance. The next items dealt with the issue of how the husband felt when he was not working and his wife was.

### W6.4 Effects on the Husband when the Wife Works and He Doesn't

The positive and negative effects for these items were about equal with the women agreeing slightly more with the negative effects. The item with the most negative consequence was that the man would feel less of a man if he were not working and the wife was.

Table W6.4

Employment Effect for the Item:

"When a wife works and a husband doesn't,
what are the effects on him?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Negative Effect | | | | |
| He is less of a man | 2.75 | 2.57 | n.s. | 2.63 |
| Not everybody needs to work, he prefers to stay home | 2.19 | 2.17 | n.s. | 2.17 |
| Overall mean | 2.47 | 2.37 | n.s. | 2.40 |
| Positive Effect | | | | |
| He respects her working | 2.51 | 2.58 | n.s. | 2.55 |
| He does his best and helps with the family work | 2.18 | 2.06 | n.s. | 2.10 |
| Overall mean | 2.35 | 2.32 | n.s. | 2.33 |

The next highest degree of agreement was with the item about the husband respecting her more. This is a recurrent theme appearing in several parts of the study, that employment has a high personal consequence and is rewarded by others, thus increasing the women's self esteem. The means indicate that there were about as many agreeing as disagreeing with the idea that the husband was doing his best and didn't mind the situation as long as he was doing something to help within the family. They also felt that not everybody needs to work.

## W6.5 Interaction Effects

There were three significant interaction effects. All of them for the interaction of marital and employment status. The effects were quite similar. The items were: "She feels important to the family," "he prefers to stay at home," and "He is doing his best and helping out at home." The table will be for one of the items.

Table W6.5

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item: "Problem for a woman when her husband is not working - Husband may prefer to stay at home."

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Husband-absent | 1.40 | 1.79 |
| Husband-present | 2.09 | 1.83 |

$p < .05$

There was little marital effect for the nonemployed women, but for the employed, the husband-absent were much less likely to feel that the husband would prefer to stay at home than were those with husbands present. The same direction of mean differences was found for the other two items with the husband-absent employed women being less likely to feel both that the husband was doing his best as long as he helps in the family and that she would feel important to her family if she were working and he was not. The employed husband-present women were more charitable to the husbands, and also felt they would have more to gain from the situation when they worked than did the husband-absent women. More of them having experienced a husband who was not working were more likely to accept his not being able to work. They were more apt to feel needed and important as the family bread winner.

### W6.6 Comments about Husband's Attitudes When He is Not Working

There was some acceptance of an alternate life style which was held by both the employed and the nonemployed. This life style included the wife fulfilling the instrumental function of being the family provider who reflected society's attitude toward those taking part in the economic system: feeling important, being respected. On the other hand, the man unable to work was getting his rewards from his part in the family system. These were secondary rewards for a man. There was some acceptance of his doing the best he could under the circumstances. The women recognized that the men would be quite ambivalent about not working. On the one hand, they might like to be at home and not have to face the difficulties of being employed at marginal jobs, and on the other hand, they might feel they had failed and feel less like a man. Allowing families to find the life style compatable to them and accepting the idea that some men were good at being homemakers while some women wanted to work outside of the home if they could be assured that their family obligations would be met, could solve some of the problems for low income families. It is beginning to be a way of life for some of the young who are seeking new patterns for themselves.

It is interesting that the employed husband-present women were the most ambivalent about this reveraal of roles. They felt that the husband wanted to stay at home and didn't mind not working while they felt themelves to be important to the family if they had to work. Perhaps they were rationalizing for the husband who was physically incapacitated or was unable to hold a job and who found refuge at home. The comments of the men in the case studies who were not working indicated that when talking to someone from the outside, they felt inadequate about being unemployed and unemployable and expressed the wish that they could work at any kind of job. On the other hand, they had resigned themselves to being at home and "helping out."

### W7 Perception of Husband's Characteristics

In order to clarify the attitudes the women had towards their husbands, the women were asked to describe them on the same dimensions that they had described themselves - as being instrumental and expressive.

### Table W7

### Employment Effect for the Items:

### "How much would you say your husband is like the following?"*

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Instrumental | | | | |
| Has skills necessary for getting a good job | 2.45 | 2.49 | n.s. | 2.48 |
| Speaks his mind no matter who he is talking to | 2.29 | 2.49 | n.s. | 2.42 |
| Ambitious for self | 1.94 | 2.41 | .001 | 2.25 |
| Efficient at getting things done | 1.84 | 2.27 | .01 | 2.12 |
| Good head for finances | 1.38 | 1.90 | .001 | 1.72 |
| Good at organizing others | 1.50 | 1.80 | .07 | 1.70 |
| Overall mean | 1.90 | 2.20 | .01 | 2.12 |
| Expressive | | | | |
| Affectionate and tender | 1.79 | 2.29 | .001 | 2.12 |
| Cautious | 1.69 | 2.13 | .001 | 1.98 |
| More of a listener than a talker | 1.74 | 1.79 | n.s. | 1.77 |
| Good at smoothing things over | 1.45 | 1.90 | .01 | 1.72 |
| Patient during difficulties | 1.49 | 1.80 | .05 | 1.69 |
| Blames himself when things go wrong | 1.03 | 1.44 | .01 | 1.30 |
| Overall mean | 1.55 | 1.89 | .01 | 1.76 |

The women perceived the husbands as being more instrumental than expressive. The mean score for being instrumental was at the "somewhat like this" level, so that at the absolute level the men were not clearly "masculine." The men were perceived as having job skills, as speaking their minds and as being ambitious. They were lower on being good organizers, having a good head for finances and being efficient. They were somewhat aggressive but not very effective.

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* 0 = not at all like this, 1 = a little like this, 2 = somewhat like this, 3 = a lot like this, 4 = very much like this

Of the expressive qualities, the overall mean was between a "little" and "somewhat" like this. They were better at being affectionate and cautious. Being good listeners, patient, and good at smoothing things over were intermediate. They were lowest on blaming themselves when things went wrong. The men were seen as being more likely to be affectionate than they were at being good at organizing others and having a good head for finances, and were as affectionate as they were efficient at getting things done.

Two thirds of the items had statistically significant mean differences and all of them favored the nonemployed who perceived the husband as being both more instrumental and more expressive. They saw him as being both more efficient and effective without being more agressive than did the employed, and he was also more loving, patient, and better at avoiding conflict and intropunitive. In general, the nonemployed liked their husbands more than did the employed.

Some of the husbands were quite unstable.

> Mrs. K's husband was prone to financial gambles. Unlike Mr. X, he did not forbid his wife to work. Instead he forced her to take jobs against her will. Mrs. K feels that she handles money well now that she has divorced her husband, but it was different when she was married. "If I had the money, bills got paid; when he had the money, bills didn't get paid. We kept our money separate, but he often spent his on things we didn't need like magazines and cameras. My husband always insisted that I get a job even when he was earning enough money so I didn't have to work. We always had to have extra money for things for him. I remember in one state he found me a job in a rag factory and insisted I take it. This was because he felt that I should help support the family and also that we needed the money so he could pay for a hi-fi set. I just accepted this." Mr. K also attempted to set up his own business. Mrs. K says she quit her waitressing job to help her husbnad set up the shop. "Then he took off for the south again and left me holding the shop all by myself." Mrs. K continued to manage the store until Mr. K returned four months later. Within a few more months, however, he had decided to move the family to another state.

> A woman within our study states, "Things were really beautiful until I got pregnant and left my job." Another recalls that their marriage was "hopping from one place to another. My husband always had some complaint about the boss or something on the job or something somebody said." She noted that she thought things would be better when they moved to the Ithaca area and then ironically added, "I should have known better." Her husband left her within three months of their moving to a new surrounding where she knew no one, had no kin, and was totally unfamiliar.

The responsibilities of parenthood were too much for some.

> She spoke of how happy they were when they first got married. (She was eighteen.) They bought everything new: furniture, a new house, and everything was beautiful. Even when she had her first child, things were still going nicely. Things got bad when she had more and more children. Soon she and her husband began quarreling. They separated over little things about the children.

In the next section the woman were asked to indicate the areas of satisfaction and problems they thought their husbands had.

## W8 Areas of Satisfaction and Problems by the Husband

The items were the identical ones the women used in describing themselves, except that two items were left out: housework and men. They were to respond for their present husband, if married, or for the most recent husband, if not. The responses were coded from 0 = an important problem, through a code of 4 = a very imporant source of satisfaction.

### W8.1 Comparisons of Life Satisfaction Areas

There were three items in each of the traditional female and the personal areas that were combined. The results for these individual items will be considered later.

Table W8.1

Employment Effect for the Items:

"In general how much of a problem or how much satisfaction does your husband get from the following?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Personal areas (3 items) | 2.31 | 2.36 | n.s. | 2.34 |
| Work | 2.30 | 2.35 | n.s. | 2.33 |
| Trational female areas (3 items) | 2.16 | 2.22 | n.s. | 2.20 |
| Health | 1.89 | 1.98 | n.s. | 1.95 |
| Finances | 1.43 | 1.80 | .01 | 1.67 |
| Overall mean | 2.02 | 2.14 | n.s. | 2.10 |

Overall, the women thought the personal and work areas were about equally satisfying for their husbands, with health and financial status being least satisfying. There was only one area where the employed and the nonemployed differed. The women that were nonemployed thought their husbands were more satisfied with their financial status than did the employed. This difference may be reflecting the husbands' dissatisfaction because the wife was working, i.e. if she had to work, their financial situation must be bad. Actually the families with an employed wife had a higher level of income.

## W8.2 Husband's Satisfaction from the Traditional Female Areas of Life

There were no employment effects for any of the items in the traditional female areas of satisfaction: friends, children, and the community. The women thought the men had the most satisfaction from their friends and then from children, with the community activities being least of the three (means = 2.46, 2.34, 1.79). This emphasis on "his friends" as a source of satisfaction for the low income men is corroborated by other studies that found the low income husband was more likely to spend his free time with his male cronies than with his family. It should be noted that none of the data for this section were derived from the men but came from the women's perception about how the men would react. These are significant in their own right. Although they may reflect the women's and not the men's opinions of themselves, they give insight into the women's attitudes.

## W8.3 Satisfaction from the Personal Areas of Life

There were no significant differences for the employed effect and the men were most satisfied with how they dressed and looked and then equally satisfied with the remaining two items: how happy they were and how free they felt to do what they wanted to do (means = 2.48, 2.27, 2.27).

## W8.4 Comparison of Women's Responses about Themselves and Their Husbands

It is interesting to determine whether the women perceived themselves or their husbands as being more satisfied with life and to see where the similarities and differences were found.*

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* The data about the women's self perceptions will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter

Table W8.4

Comparison of Responses about Husbands' and Wives' Satisfaction Areas

| Item | Husband | Wife |
|---|---|---|
| Personal | | |
| Dress and looks | 2.48 | 2.50 |
| Happiness | 2.27 | 2.66 |
| Freedom | 2.27 | 2.32 |
| Overall mean | 2.34 | 2.49 |
| Traditional Female Areas | | |
| Friends | 2.46 | 3.09 |
| Children | 2.34 | 3.19 |
| Community Activities | 1.79 | 2.50 |
| Overall mean | 2.20 | 2.93 |
| Work | 2.33 | 2.19 |
| Health | 1.95 | 2.19 |
| Financial Status | 1.67 | 1.33 |
| Overall mean | 2.17 | 2.43 |

The wives were most satisfied with the personal areas especially with how happy they felt. They were most satisfied with each of the traditional female areas. The men received more satisfaction, as attributed to them by their wives, from work and the financial situation, but the women were more satisfied with their health. The overall score indicates that the women were happier with their lot than were the men. The responses were fairly stereotyped with the women getting more satisfaction from the home and the men from work. In these low income families it is not surprising that the men would be perceived as being less satisfied in general since, by the standards that define a man by his economic accomplishments, these men are not successful and this low esteem would be reflected on them.

### W9 Comments about the Employed Woman as Wife

The traditional pattern of the wife staying home resulted in a more satisfying marriage than if she went to work. As will be shown in the next chapter, the employed women were more aggressive, less docile, and more threatening to the male machismo. In many families where the women worked, the men were no longer the head of the family and although they didn't want their wives to work, they did anyway. Regardless of the cause and effect chain, marital satisfaction in this sample of lower class women was not enhanced by their employment, and part of a training program for women employees should include discussions about how to cope with the husbands' attitudes about female employment.

The employed women thought that their husbands were not getting as good meals and that they were not spending as much time together as they would like to. The nonemployed anticipated that the children would suffer more and that the husband would respect her less if she worked than the employed reported as a consequence of their working. This suggests either that the situation of the two groups was quite different, with the nonemployed women actually having more complications with their children and having a husband that was more defensive about their working, or the nonemployed were misinformed about the consequences and were making things seem worse than they were. If the former, the nonemployed need special help in coping with their situation. If the latter, then information about the circumstances of women who work and how it turns out should be supplied to them. In any case, there may be some advantage to disseminating the information about this and similar studies to professionals working with economically poor women and to the women themselves.

The employed women had more control over their lives in relation to employment, but they were not in general more dominant. They did, however, perceive their husbands as being less instrumental than did the nonemployed. They also experienced more negative feelings about the husband and felt he was generally not only less effective as a person, but also less affectionate.

The employed women perceived the husband as being less satisfied with the way he was coping with the financial situation, even though the income of the employed was higher. There appeared to be significant marital problems that need to be dealt with in relation to the employment of women.

## W10 Implications about the Employed Woman as Wife

1. Information about the effect of working on the marriage of employed women should be disseminated to the nonemployed and to professionals working with families.

2. Discussions about the effects of employment on the marriage should be part of the training program.

3. Marriage counseling should be offerred to both the employed and nonemployed women, and materials should be prepared and made available to women and their husbands.

4. Women's employment and its influence on marriage should be discussed in school in informal meetings and in pretraining programs. Efforts should be made to have the husbands present.

5. Since marriage is a central social institution, more attention needs to be placed on how employment of the wife and nonemployment of the husband influences the marriage.

# CHAPTER VIII

## THE EMPLOYED WOMAN AS A PERSON: A SELF ASSESSMENT

One strategy for helping women find employment is to bring more resources to them - job training, child care programs, transportation, etc.,thus removing the barriers to their participation in the labor force. An alternative strategy is to improve the basic underlying structures in the woman's personality which would make it possible for her to find ways to overcome these barriers herself. Experts on underdeveloped countries talk of the necessity for the development of an infrastructure, the roads and communication networks which will make it possible for the country to "take off" into greater development. This concept of an infrastructure as related to the self has the same meaning. A person has to have a positive self concept, a feeling of competence and of self worth - an infrastructure to provide the basis for."take off" into more effective functioning. In this case the infrastructure is developed when the women have the feeling that as barriers occur, they can overcome them rather than be overcome by them.

To what extent is the development of the self infrastructure related to employment of women? Several theorists have proposed the relationship to be quite direct. Simone de Beauvoir discusses the subjugation of women in most societies resulting in the women's feelings of inadequacy. She proposes that one of the ways women may become emancipated from men and find themselves is through employment. This point of view is strongly held today by many of the "women's lib" movement. We shall be exploring the question about how women who were employed were different from those not employed in their self attitudes.

Another question of interest is the extent to which working women lose the "feminine" qualities and become more instrumental - concerned with their own achievement rather than gaining satisfaction through fostering the achievement of others. Where did women get their life satisfactions? Did those who worked tend to reject the home as a source of personal happiness or did they retain this source to the same extent as did the nonemployed? Did women feel that they had little hope for the future? In that sense, was there a "culture of poverty?"

## S1 Self Esteem

Did the women who were working out of the home have a higher level of self esteem or did they feel that having to work lowered their feeling about themselves? In what ways did their welfare or marital status influence their feeling of self esteem differently if they were or were not employed? Was there a general "creaming" process with the employed feeling they were more capable and thereby more able to manage the functions of homemaker, wife, and mother in addition to being employed, while those who felt less competent were not able to add employment to their already complicated lives?

The variable, self esteem, was indexed by four items. These were the woman's feelings about where she stood in relation to other women she knew: 1) on how well she did at raising her children, 2) at learning new things, 3) in getting along with others, and 4) an overall feeling about her competence. She rated herself on a five point scale ranging from "0" which meant she felt much less competent, through a middle score of "2" which meant she was about the same as most people she knew, to a rating of "4" which meant she felt much more competent. The wording of the alternatives varied somewhat in order to suit the questions but they were very comparable in meaning. The overall mean for the entire sample was 2.34 indicating that the women generally felt somewhat more adequate than most persons they knew. The employed did have a higher level of self esteem than did the nonemployed (means 2.42 vs. 2.30)**. The formerly welfare employed were the highest in self esttem (2.44) and the presently welfare nonemployed the lowest (2.27).

Table S1

Employment Effect for the Self Esteem Items:
"Comparing yourself with other people you know, how would you say you are at:"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Getting along with people | 2.70 | 2.50 | .001 | 2.57 |
| Raising children | 2.49 | 2.47 | n.s. | 2.47 |
| Learning new things | 2.30 | 2.18 | .05 | 2.22 |
| Feeling of self confidence | 2.18 | 2.03 | .01 | 2.08 |
| Overall mean | 2.42 | 2.30 | .01 | 2.34 |

In regard to the specific items, the women felt most competent in the interpersonal skills of getting along with others, next in the ability to be mothers, then in learning new things. They felt least able when asked directly about how competent they were in comparison to others. The ethic of not bragging about oneself may have depressed the score on this item. In general, these women felt fairly good about themselves.

The employed had a significantly higher level of self esteem on three of the four items. Although they showed no higher mean than than the nonemployed in their feelings of competence in raising children, a significant interaction of marital status with employment existed.

### Table S1a
### Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item: "How well do you feel you are raising your children?"*

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Husband-absent | 2.37 | 2.44 |
| Husband-present | 2.62 | 2.50 |

$p < .05$

There was little impact of marital status on the nonemployed. For the employed, the husband-present felt more competent in their child rearing (2.62) than did the husband-absent women (2.37).

## S1.1 Comments on Self Esteem

It appears that women who work had a higher level of self esteem than did those who were not working, supporting the idea that work does not have a deleterious effect on women's self esteem. While the cause and effect question will have to await the report of our panel study, it does seem to indicate that any efforts to increase the woman's self esteem would be positive in relation to their employment. The work of informal organizations such as church groups and extension services should be directed at helping poor women feel more competent by teaching them crafts and social skills. One of the case study women, when asked about church attendance, said that she didn't go because she felt out of place with the other people there and felt they really did not want her or her family to come. The pastor of that church in a private conversation said that a poor family came to his rural church once but they just did not work out. They were "too different." The good people of his church!!

* 0 = worse than most parents you know, 1 = not quite as well, 2 = about the same, 3 = a little better, 4 = much better

Janet Fitchen, in her participant observer study of Road Junction, Volume 2 of this report, discusses some of the difficulties of getting to women who remain within the protected confines of their community and peers where they "know their place." The circularity of the problem is such that success at employment could be a significant factor in increasing the women's self esteem which in turn increases their likelihood of being able to manage their lives more effectively. Breaking into the chain at any point is a positive step.

The case of Mrs. X illustrates the relationship of marital status, employment, and self esteem. While she was married she never considered employment and preferred to stay at home with her young children. After her divorce, however, she decided to take a job. She says, "It wasn't Welfare's idea I get a job; it was my doctor's. He said I was thinking too much about my problems and making a mess of myself." She found that she enjoyed work and gained a great deal of self confidence and esteem. She has since remarried and left her job. At this point in time she again prefers to be at home with her family and would be distressed if she felt pressured into working.

## S2 Women as a Second Sex

Simone de Beauvior referred to women as the "second sex," maintaining not only that they had fewer opportunities than men, but that women were perceived by men and by themselves as objects rather than as subjects. As objects, they felt they were used by others, had little or no independent identity and gained their major satisfactions living through others rather than through their own accomplishments. She proposed that one of the major ways women could become subjects was by means of employment since they would become independent. They would be accomplishing something and being rewarded for their accomplishments by earning money.

Our study indexed the variable, women as a second sex, through three items which the women rated in terms of how much they agreed or disagreed with them. The items asked whether the women thought they should vote as their husbands did since he knows more, whether they thought it was sufficient for a woman to get respect through the accomplishments of her husband and children, and whether they thought a job gave more prestige to a woman than being a housewife. The items were recoded so that the larger the score the more the response indicated agreement with the notion of woman as second sex. The responses for the effect of employment and the overall score are on the next table.

Table S2

Employment Effect for the Summed Variable:

"Women as Second Sex"*

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| It should be enough for any woman to get respect through the accomplishments of her husband and children | 2.61 | 2.91 | .001 | 2.82 |
| A paid job gives more prestige to a woman than being a housewife | 1.89 | 2.33 | .001 | 2.19 |
| A wife does better to vote the way her husband does, because he probably knows more | 0.53 | 0.95 | .001 | 0.81 |
| Overall mean | 1.68 | 2.06 | .001 | 1.97 |

In general the women in this sample felt they were neither first nor second sex with their overall mean score being just about at the midpoint of distribution (1.97). The women differed quite widely on their responses to the three questions. They were quite enthusiastic about the notion of getting their major life satisfaction through the husband's accomplishments (mean = 2.82). They were near the midpoint

* 0 = strongly disagree, 1 = disagree somewhat, 3 = agree somewhat, 4 = strongly agree

+ code reversed

on the question of feeling that a paid job had more prestige than being a housewife (recoded mean = 2.19) but had a quite clear antipathy about voting as the husband did since he was an authority (mean = 0.81). Apparently they did not have much confidence in the husband or felt they should have a mind of their own in this matter.

The nonemployed, as predicted from Beauvior's theory, had a higher score on perceiving themselves as the second sex not only on their overall score but for each of the items. The women who stayed at home felt it was more important to be a housewife than a worker, felt it should be enough for a woman to get respect through the accomplishment of her husband and were more likely to feel they should vote as the husband did.

There was a significant interaction of marital on employment status which shed some further light on the data.

Table S2a

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item: "Do you feel that it should be enough for any woman to get respect through the accomplishments of her husband and children?"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Husband-absent | 2.63 | 2.74 |
| Husband-present | 2.60 | 3.10 |

$p < .01$

For the employed, there was practically no effect of marriage for the item, but for the nonemployed, the husband-present group were more willing to feel that their satisfactions should come by living through other family members. Being at home they had the feeling that their lives received meaning through their facilitating the lives of others. For the employed, however, this facilitating process was not strengthened by having a husband and those without a husband had about the same attitudes. They had taken a more aggressive role in the family even with a husband present. One of the case study women illustrates the point. She was the breadwinner while her husband stayed at home with a physical injury. He did some of the housework and she liked being out in the world and being the main support for the family. It is not likely that she would say that she should get her satisfaction by living through his accomplishments. The instrumental function of being breadwinner had been too rewarding and his accomplishments were from being a homemaker - a low status position for a woman and especially low for a man.

On this item, the group with the highest allegiance to the idea of woman as second sex was the welfare, not employed, husband-present (mean = 3.26), while the lowest or "most emancipated" was the formerly welfare, employed, and married (mean = 2.31).

### S2.1 Comments on Women as Second Sex

The strong preference for achieving satisfaction through other family member's accomplishments is further evidence that the women in general were not highly motivated to accomplish on their own. Comments about women's self attitudinal infrastructure as stated by "women's lib" groups are quite accurate and justifiably pessimistic about the prospects for the "emancipation of women." Women were not as willing to leap into employment as a way of self-fulfillment and preferred to perceive themselves more as objects than as subjects. Once employed however, they became more willing to be self vs. other fulfilled whether or not they had a husband. Society's planners or women themselves will need to make the value judgment about the sources of satisfaction. These data however suggest that if women work they will be more likely to be subjects, not objects. They may well be less like the mother, described by Janet Fitchen in her report on Road Junction, who waited each day for her children to come home and tell her about their day's happenings. Workers feel the children should listen to them talk about their day at work as well.

## S3 Self Concept

A dichotomy was proposed by Parsons and Bales as a mode of distinguishing between the functions performed and the personality characteristics usually associated with each sex. The male represents the family to the external world and as the one who copes with that world, develops a personality typology which is functional for that task; he becomes ambitious, well-organized, efficient, speaks his mind. The woman provides the passive nurturant-integrative functions and is affectionate, patient, a listener, and good at smoothing things over.

The first hypothesis is based on situational determinism. Women who work outside of the home would be more instrumental and those who stay at home would be more expressive. The second hypothesis is based on personality determinism. The women who work are generally more effective. They are more instrumental at work and more expressive at home. A third hypothesis is that there is a functional relationship between occupational demands and personality. Women who work are more instrumental, which is functional for the occupational world, without losing the expressiveness which is functional for the family setting. A hypothesis of no sex typology is also proposed; Women would be as likely to perceive themselves as being instrumental as being expressive. These hypotheses were tested by our data. First let us see how the women in general viewed themselves.

There were 10 items divided into five instrumental and five expressive items. On each the women were to rate themselves on a five point scale: 0 = not at all like this, 1 = a little like this, 2 = somewhat like this, 3 = a lot like this, 4 = very much like this. The following table presents the employment comparisons and the overall means.

Table S3

Employment Effect on the Instrumental and Expressive Self Concept Items:

"How much would you say you are like the following?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Instrumental | | | | |
| efficient | 2.91 | 2.78 | .06 | 2.82 |
| good head for finances | 2.78 | 2.73 | n.s. | 2.75 |
| ambitious | 2.76 | 2.38 | .001 | 2.58 |
| speaks her mind | 2.27 | 2.30 | n.s. | 2.27 |
| well organized | 2.11 | 1.92 | .05 | 1.99 |
| Overall mean | 2.57 | 2.42 | .05 | 2.47 |
| Expressive | | | | |
| affectionate | 3.00 | 3.11 | .07 | 3.08 |
| cautious | 2.98 | 3.02 | n.s. | 3.00 |
| patient | 2.62 | 2.54 | n.s. | 2.58 |
| good listener | 2.38 | 2.41 | n.s. | 2.40 |
| good at smoothing things over | 2.40 | 2.35 | n.s. | 2.37 |
| Overall mean | 2.67 | 2.69 | n.s. | 2.68 |

The magnitude of the means indicates that the women felt they were first of all "affectionate" and then "cautious," two expressive items. The next two highest self ratings were instrumental ones - being "efficient" and having a "good head for finances." They felt they were lowest at being "well organized" and "speaking their mind." The two lowest expressive items were being "good at smoothing things over" and being a "good listener." Overall, the mean score for being expressive was 2.68 and the mean for instrumental was 2.47 and we may conclude that the women in general perceived themselves as being somewhat more expressive than instrumental as measured by these items. Their highest self attributes were expressive ones and lowest were instrumental. The differences were not so marked as to ascribe sex typing to the women.

There was no significant difference between the two employment groups on their self perception as expressive but there was a difference for being instrumental, with the employed being higher (means = 2.57 vs. 2.42)*.

Two of the instrumental items, being ambitious and well organized, were higher for the employed, and one item, being efficient, approached significance.

### S3.1 Comments on Self Concept

The findings support the third hypothesis. Women did not lose their feminine expressive qualities when they went to work, but were more instrumental.

## S4 Community Participation

Did working outside the home limit the extent to which the women could be part of the larger community or were those women who were able to manage their lives well enough to combine the tasks of homemaking, mother and wife with employment also able to be more active as community participants? In other words, are busy people in one area able to be active in another or is there a limited amount of energy which can be utilized. If a woman works, is she more or less likely to be active in the community?

Table S4 shows the five items that indexed the Community Participant Variable. All of the responses were recorded as dichotomies except P.T.A. attendance which was divided into three categories of 0 = not at all, 1 = once or twice a year, and 2 = almost every one. The table presents the overall means in rank order as well as the differences according to employment group.

Table S4

Employment Effect for the
Community Participation Items

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| registered voter | .64 | .57 | .01 | .60 |
| P.T.A. attendance | .58 | .53 | n.s. | .55 |
| voted in last election | .58 | .45 | .001 | .50 |
| church attendance | .51 | .45 | .05 | .47 |
| attended class since school | .54 | .33 | .001 | .40 |
| Total | 2.85 | 2.33 | .001 | 2.52 |

Sixty percent of the women were registered and 50% voted in the last presidential election. If the item P.T.A. attendance were dichotomized into the two groups of ever and never attended, then only 40% would be classified into the ever attended category, but special weighting was given to having attended most of the meetings. Twenty-six percent went to the P.T.A. once or twice and only 14% went to almost every meeting. Church attendance was dichotomized from a five point scale in order to make the items comparable for scaling purposes. Twenty-five percent never went to church and an additional 28% went to church only once or twice a year. Nineteen percent went to church once or twice a month, 24% went every week, and 5% went more than once a week for a total of 47% attending at least once or twice a month. It is of some interest that 40% of the sample had attended some kind of class since they had left regular school. In all, the sample as a whole was fairly active.

All of the comparisons between the employed and nonemployed indicated that the employed were more active and all but one had statistically significant mean differences. This finding was corroborated by the significant difference for the employed on the overall score.

There was one statistically significant interaction involving employment and this was for the effect of marital status on employment regarding the extent of voter registration.

Table S4a

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item: "Are you a registered voter?"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Husband-absent | .58 | .56 |
| Husband-present | .71 | .59 |

$p < .05$

There was little differential effect of marital status for the nonemployed but for the employed, the husband-present were more likely to be registered to vote than were the husband-absent women (means = .71 vs. .58)

For voting, as well as for registering, there was also a significant main effect for welfare. Only 42% of the welfare nonemployed voted in the last election while 65% of the employed formerly welfare voted.

## S4.1 Comments about Community Participation

The employed were more active than the nonemployed, giving some credence to the notion that those who are busiest in some areas of their lives may be more active in others. The poor, who need to use the vote for their ends, seemed to be the ones using the ballot least. Welfare clients may be their own worst enemy by not taking an active part in the community either because they do not feel welcome, have inadequate energy, or feel sufficiently alienated. The cause and effect problem makes it difficult to generalize about whether active women tend to work or whether being employed opens other doors. Efforts to increase the development of this self infrastructure by increasing participation in the community should be fostered and may result in greater employment. Those who worked seemingly did not withdraw from the community.

## S5 Locus of Control

At issue here is the question of whether women at work or women who remain at home felt less in control of their lives. Did the women who went to work when they would rather have stayed home feel that their working was the result of environmental forces beyond their control, or was it the nonworking women who felt less in control and more at the mercy of their environment? Did they feel their job at home was defined by society in such a way that they felt inadequate and that they would fail if they went out into the work world?

This dimension has been widely studied and indicates the extent to which a person feels he is in control of the direction of his life. A high score indicates that the person feels "external" events beyond his control determine what happens to him while a low score indicates that the person feels his own efforts and desires are effective in producing outcomes.

The case studies and the study of Road Junction indicated that in general poor women did not have a strong sense of self determination. Those who have written about the culture of poverty have documented the attitude of defeatism held by low income persons. Without getting involved in the controversy about the extent to which the attitudes are "cultural" vs. "situational" determination, it would be valuable to explore the extent to which the "external" attitudes were held by the women and how the employed and the nonemployed differed.

All five items were put in a framework of what the mother thought should be passed on to her children and in that same sense the ideas were in a "cultural" context. High scores indicated less feeling of control over their lives.

Table S5

Employment Effect for the Locus of Control Items:*

"Children should be taught that:"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Job comes before fun | 2.88 | 3.09 | .01 | 3.02 |
| People will take advantage of you | 2.58 | 2.90 | .001 | 2.80 |
| Not expect too much out of life | 2.06 | 2.34 | .01 | 2.25 |
| Isn't much to do about how things turn out | 1.21 | 1.81 | .001 | 1.62 |
| Can't count on people | 1.35 | 1.63 | .01 | 1.54 |
| Overall mean | 2.02 | 2.36 | .001 | 2.24 |

The mean for all five items was 2.24 indicating that in general the women tended toward an external locus of control.

There was a significant main effect for employment, with those working outside the home being less external than those staying at home (mean 2.02 vs. 2.36)***. There was also a main effect for welfare status, with the formerly welfare being less external (means 2.07 vs. 2.32)**. The formerly welfare employed were the least external (1.96) and the welfare nonemployed were most external (2.40). None of the interactions had statistically significant mean differences for the overall score.

There was a significant employment effect for each of the individual items with the employed in every case being less external, showing that the employed felt they had more control of their lives than the nonemployed.

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* 0 = disagree strongly, 1 = disagree somewhat, no 2 provided, 3 = agree somewhat, 4 = agree strongly

The item with the highest level of externality (highest mean) was "the job comes before fun," the next highest was that "people will take advantage of you." The least external responses were to the items that "you can't count on people" and "there isn't much you can do about how things turn out." The first item about work first and fun later represents a highly puritanical work ethic viewpoint and about 80% of the subjects agreed with it to some extent. The next represented their feeling of impotence in relation to the world of persons ready to exploit them. While this viewpoint could be considered paranoid, it is equally likely that in their experience others actually have taken advantage of them. They felt it their duty to prepare their children for a hostile world. This idea was quite firmly held as represented not only in the overall mean score of 2.80 but also by the fact that about 75% of the sample agreed with the item (42% strongly agreed). This response suggests that these subjects were not only feeling impotent but also that they were quite ready to be suspicious of others. Fitchen's comments about Road Junction as a haven from a hostile world are pertinent.

Their low expectations were reflected in the next item having to do with teaching children not to expect too much out of life so they won't be disappointed. About 2/3 of the sample agreed with this item.

For the last two items, although the subjects were less pessimistic, about 1/3 agreed that children should be taught that there isn't much one can do about life and that they shouldn't put too much trust in people.

An illustration of a low level of locus of control in one of the case study women is here given.

> Mrs. A, a working welfare mother, finally accumulated enough extra money to purchase a long awaited washing machine. She picked it out and asked that it be delivered. When it arrived and was installed, she discovered that it would not work, and it appeared that the inside bin had been broken at the time of delivery. When she called the store and asked that they take it back for one that worked, they refused. She ended up with a large "repair" bill and an additional charge for re-installation. She felt there was nothing she could do.

Another incident turned out better for Mrs. C who had the feeling she could stand up to others and could mobilize other resources.

> While browsing through a local department store, she stopped to watch a demonstration of televisions. A salesman approached her and asked her if she enjoyed watching it. He then went on to ask if she'd like to take it home for a few days to "try it out." He said they could have it delivered free of charge to her home and she could make a decision about buying it after seeing how she liked it. She took him up on his offer and brought it home, much to her children's delight. She knew, however, that she could never afford it, and brought it back within the next few days. Upon her return to the store, however, the salesman was too "busy" to take it back and told her that the policy had "changed." The store no longer allowed "trial offers." She owed them for the T.V. and was going to be in big trouble if she didn't start paying off the first installment. Shocked at the news, she demanded to see the manager and tell him the story. He shook his head and said that no such policy had ever been in existence, and he seriously doubted whether any of his salespersons would have made such an offer. He too demanded that she begin making payments. Realizing she couldn't cope with him by herself, the woman turned to a local organization run by university students, which provided counseling on just such matters. They helped her to handle the matter, and she was freed from the burden of paying for the set.

### S5.1 Comments about Locus of Control

Employment seemed to be associated with having a more internal locus of control. The employed women had more feeling that they could control their own destiny. One of the most interesting findings was that the nonemployed, more than the employed, felt that children should be taught that the job comes before fun. They reflect the attitude that society has toward employment of its poor and their own sensitivity about their condition. They have incorporated what Rodman refers to as the "value stretch."

Since society tends to place a higher value on employment by the poor, especially welfare women, those not employed have incorporated a certain amount of guilt because they don't conform. On the other hand, they feel they should be at home caring for their family. This double bind may be behind their feelings of impotence about their lives. Whatever the cause and effect chain, however, it appears that employment is not associated with a more pessimistic external locus of control attitude - rather it leads in the other direction.

### S6 Sources of Problems and Satisfactions

One theory is that only through a contact with the world of work can persons find a personally satisfying life and that all other contacts or reward systems are subordinate and secondary. This is a dominant position of most societies since they are dependent upon a production versus a consumption ethic. This viewpoint was illustrated by the women's statements about the significantly greater importance of work than of having fun especially as an ethic to be transmitted to their children. Maybe, it is harder to have fun when you are poor, so opt for a job and at least have money?

Another position is that the main satisfactions in life come not from the impersonal world but primarily from the interpersonal world. This ethic is supposedly strongly held by women primarily in relation to the family. An illustration here was the response of the women in regard to the greater importance of the woman's being at home when she has a preschool child rather than of her working, and their tendency to disagree with the statement that a paid job gives more prestige than being a housewife. In this section we shall look at the sources of satisfaction the women have and contrast these sources for the employed and nonemployed.

The items were divided into five groups: traditional female areas of concern, personal satisfactions, and then single items of work, health, and financial situation.

## S6.1 Comparisons of Life Satisfaction Areas

The women clearly found most satisfaction in the traditional female areas. Personal areas were next. Except for their health and especially their financial situation, one could conclude that they found their lives more satisfying than not. The difference between finding satisfaction from the traditional female sources and from employment was clear and one would not expect women to be rushing toward employment rather than toward the home. The employed were significantly more satisfied than were the nonemployed with their lives (means = 2.47 vs. 2.06)**. The next section will discuss the items which index the traditional and personal areas in more detail.

Table S6.1

Employment Effect for the Items:

"Satisfaction with Areas of Life"*

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Traditional female (5 items) | 2.69 | 2.81 | n.s. | 2.77 |
| Personal (3 items) | 2.56 | 2.43 | .01 | 2.48 |
| Work | 3.00 | 1.85 | .001 | 2.19 |
| Health | 2.63 | 1.97 | .001 | 2.19 |
| Financial | 1.49 | 1.26 | .01 | 1.33 |
| Overall mean | 2.47 | 2.06 | .01 | 2.20 |

* 0 = very important problem, 1 = somewhat a problem, 2 = neither a problem nor satisfaction, 3 = get some satisfaction, 4 = get a lot of satisfaction.

## S6.2 Satisfaction from Traditional Areas

Within the traditional female areas "children" followed closely by "friends." However, all of these items were above the neutral point of 2.00. There was no overall employment effect indicating that finding satisfaction from these "feminine" activities was not lost to women who were employed. On the other hand, two of the items, satisfaction with housework and church were found to be more satisfying for the nonemployed. Maybe dissatisfaction with the home was a force in having women go to work, but satisfaction with being a homemaker and participant in church and other community activities might also be an important force in keeping women at home. Satisfaction with men was the lowest source of satisfaction of these items, but for the sample as a whole, half the women had no husbands. There was a significant marital effect with those with husbands indicating more satisfaction (means = 2.99 vs. 1.88)***.

Table S6.2

Employment Effect for the Items"

"Traditional Female Areas of Satisfaction"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Children | 3.18 | 3.19 | n.s. | 3.19 |
| Friends | 3.10 | 3.08 | n.s. | 3.09 |
| Housework | 2.38 | 2.82 | .001 | 2.67 |
| Church | 2.42 | 2.54 | .05 | 2.50 |
| Husband or men in general | 2.37 | 2.43 | n.s. | 2.41 |
| Overall mean | 2.69 | 2.81 | n.s. | 2.77 |

## S6.3 Personal Satisfaction

The overall mean for all three items was above the neutral point. For the sum of the three personal satisfaction items, the employed, married, and formerly welfare group had the highest mean (2.82) and the currently welfare, not employed, and husband-absent group had the lowest mean (2.30).

The women found most satisfaction with "how happy they felt" and least satisfaction with "the amount of freedom" they had.

Table S6.3
Employment Effect for the Items:
"Personal Areas of Satisfaction"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| How happy you feel | 2.71 | 2.61 | n.s. | 2.66 |
| Dress and look | 2.64 | 2.39 | .001 | 2.50 |
| Freedom to do what you want | 2.35 | 2.30 | n.s. | 2.32 |
| Overall mean | 2.57 | 2.43 | .01 | 2.49 |

That the employed had a higher degree of personal satisfaction than the nonemployed (means = 2.57 vs. 2.43)** confirmed the hypothesis that employment and personal satisfaction were related. Of the three personal satisfaction items, only one had a significant main effect for employment and this item was "how do you feel about the way you dress and look?" The employed group was more satisfied than was the nonemployed (mean = 2.64 vs. 2.39)***. Are these more self confident women the ones who get employment or does being employed result in the woman's attending more to her personal appearance or feeling better about herself? Attention to helping women with their personal appearance may be useful in fostering their employability.

Although there were no significant main effects for the item about personal happiness, there was an interaction effect for marital on employment status.

Table S6.3a

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item: "How do you feel personally, how happy do you feel?"

| | means<br>Employed | <br>Nonemployed |
|---|---|---|
| Husband-absent | 2.59 | 2.33 |
| Husband-present | 2.82 | 2.88 |

$p < .05$

Marital status had a greater impact on the nonemployed group's happiness. The lowest level of happiness was found for the nonemployed, husband-absent group. It is interesting that the husband-present groups did not vary in their feelings of personal happiness whether or not they were working (means = 2.82 vs. 2.88).

A significant interaction of welfare on employment was found for the item about freedom, and was also found for the sum of the personal items. Data are presented for "freedom" but the discussion covers the sum of personal items as well.

Table S6.3b

Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status for the Item: "How do you feel personally about your freedom to do what you want to do?"

| | means<br>Employed | <br>Nonemployed |
|---|---|---|
| Welfare | 2.30 | 2.16 |
| Ex-welfare | 2.42 | 2.75 |

$p < .01$

Women did not feel as free and did not find it as satisfying to be on welfare as to be off welfare, but the effect of welfare status among the employed was not as marked as for the nonemployed. Even though a woman had to accept welfare help, if she was employed she could feel better about herself and not feel as constrained if she had a job.

The working welfare would be expected to have a low score on personal freedom since they had the restriction of being on welfare plus the restrictions of a job with little time left. Their score was quite low but was not differentiated from the working formerly welfare. The lowest group was the nonemployed presently welfare who seeminly would have a good deal of spare time but who felt the constraints of being on welfare and not conforming to the pressure of society for them to work.

An illustration from the case studies bears on their dilemma about the exchange women feel they need to make if they accept welfare.

> "When I go shopping for food I feel I can never buy anything but the cheapest stuff even if I'm willing to scrimp on something else so I can buy it. I feel it's expected of me to buy the cheapest. I like butter instead of margarine. I know it's silly but I just can't buy butter. I feel bad no matter what I do!"

## S6.4 Comments on Life Satisfactions

There was a significant difference between the two employment groups on their overall feelings of personal satisfaction but this difference was not borne out in two of the three items. The one significant item was personal appearance. It was suggested that attention to personal appearance be part of the training program for potential women workers not only for the possibility of increasing their employability per se, but because the nonworkers are concerned about their appearance. Anything that will improve self esteem is likely to improve employability. Such programs could be undertaken as part of the program to improve the woman's self infrastructure even before she begins formal work training.

The nonemployed women seemed to be much more vulnerable to changes in their marital or welfare status. The husband-absent and currently welfare groups were particularly low in aspects of self satisfaction. Since being on welfare and not having a husband were less devastating for the employed, it would seem that encouraging husband-absent welfare women to get a job would increase their self respect.

In any case, being on welfare, having no husband and no job was not a happy state of affairs for the women in our sample. Happiness is a job, a man, and money.

The feeling of being restricted in freedom by those who work rather than those who stay at home is not surprising. Working may give some women a feeling of having a broader perspective and being part of wider horizons but the time needed to carry two jobs is an onerous part of working. Help is needed for those who already work and the prospect of such help is needed for those not yet working.

## S7 Time Perspective

There were three time perspectives that were used: past, present, and future. Did the women tend to see their future as holding more hope for them than their present or past, or did they look longingly back at the good old days as the major source of satisfaction? Did holding a job mean that the women would be more optimistic about their future?

The questions were on a ten step scale using a ladder format. The bottom of the ladder represented the worst way of life and the top represented the best or ideal way of life. They were to mark where they thought they belonged on this continuum.

Their score was above a hypothetical average level of satisfaction (mean 5.53) with no difference between the two employment groups. A psychological mobility score was derived by subtracting the score of how they perceived their past different from their present. A positive score of .68 was found for the sample as a whole, indicating that the women felt there had been little improvement in their lives over the past five years. The employed felt there had been much more improvement (means = 1.30 vs. .38)***.

The women were much more optimistic about their future and the mean difference score derived from subtracting their present level of satisfaction from the anticipated level in the next five years was 2.03. There was a significant difference between employment groups with the employed generally more optimistic (means = 2.23 vs. 1.94)*.

### S7.1 Comments about Time Perspective

What do the women think will happen in the next five years that did not happen in the last five. This anticipated improvement was greatest for the nonworkers who saw little or no improvement over their past but who expected a fair amount of change. Their mean mobility from their past score was .38 and their expected improvement score was 1.94. The difference between the two was 1.56. The employed saw more change from their past and more improvement in their future but the difference was .93. In other words, they expected a quite steady although somewhat accelerated rate of improvement from their past through their present to the future. The nonemployed however found little in their past but expected quite a good deal of improvement in the future.

We can only speculate about the cause of this optimism. One explanation is that they are optimistic by nature, looking for the good in the future but paying no attention to their experiences with the past as a guide for prediction.

This over-optimism if so, may be what keeps them from acting on their behalf - if tomorrow will have a sunny glow regardless of what they do, then there is no point in doing anything, especially if their future is not in their hands. Another possibility is that they realistically see some change as possible with new programs in the offing, FAP, and the more recent ones bugun, WIN for example.

## S8 Areas of Satisfaction

### S8.1 The Three Main Areas

The women were asked to indicate the degree of satisfaction with their lives in three areas on a 10 point ladder scale. They were: satisfaction with children, job, and their present life in general. Of special interest is the comparison of ratings for the job and children. The question was phrased so that women with and without a job could respond to it.

Table S8.1
Employment Effect for the Items:
"Satisfaction with work, children, and overall life situation."

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Satisfaction with children | 6.74 | 6.86 | n.s. | 6.82 |
| Satisfaction with job | 6.37 | 5.65 | .001 | 5.89 |
| Overall life situation | 5.63 | 5.48 | n.s. | 5.53 |
| Overall mean | 6.25 | 6.00 | .05 | 6.08 |

The women found their highest satisfaction in their children, but interestingly, they felt that the world of work was next in total satisfaction, higher than the mean for their overall level of life satisfaction but one scale point lower than for children.

There were no significant employment main effects for two of the items but the satisfaction with employment was significantly higher for those who were currently employed. Comparisons of life satisfaction for the employed group showed that there was not much difference in the extent of their satisfaction with children and with working (means = 6.74 vs. 6.37). The nonemployed, on the other hand, clearly differentiated the two areas of satisfaction and derived much more life satisfaction from children than they did from work (means = 6.86 vs. 5.65). Overall life satisfaction was lowest for both groups.

There was one significant interaction effect.

Table S8.1a

Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status for the Item: "Satisfaction with Job"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | 6.11 | 5.66 |
| Ex-welfare | 6.72 | 5.63 |

$p < .05$

Welfare status had no effect on job satisfaction for the nonemployed but did have a differential effect for the employed with the formerly welfare enjoying work more than the presently welfare (means = 6.72 vs. 6.11).

## S8.2 Comparison of Home vs. Job Orientation - Two Life Foci

It is of interest to compare those women who are satisfied with their housework as opposed to those who are satisfied with their job. The items indicating satisfaction with these two areas were correlated with a number of demographic, personality,and self concept items. The correlation between the two was .07, which for our size sample was significant at the .05 level but not large enough to combine the two scores as measuring a single entity. In the discussion below, only those correlations of .10 or better will be designated as statistically significant. Correlations of this magnitude are significant beyond the .01 level with an N of 1325.

First, it is interesting to see how these two different types of satisfaction correlate with our independent variables. Not being employed was correlated with satisfaction with housework but not related to satisfaction with work. Being off welfare was related to satisfaction with work. Work has to pay off. Being without a husband was positively related to satisfaction with work but having an unemployed husband was negatively related. If a woman had no husband she was more satisfied with a job, but if she had a husband who was not working and she went to work because of necessity, she did not find work as satisfying.

> With a young family and deserted by their husbands, women are particularly bitter about having to work. Mrs. V worked for seven years at an exhausting manual labor job. She did not dare change positions despite the intolerable conditions because her husband had ceased to support the family because of gambling and alcoholism. Mrs D worked steadily as a bookkeeper throughout marriage under what she regarded as very heavy pressure from welfare because her husband was not supporting her. Mrs. G began domestic work after her first child was born because "my husband was drinking up all the money." One woman worked prior to but never during marriage. She returned to work after divorce, but would definitely prefer having a husband support her. Most bitter perhaps are women like Mrs. K whose husband forced her against her will to work in any position he could find her, ranging from factories to nightclubs. He wanted the extra money to purchase things like cameras for himself.

A number of personality characteristics were highly correlated with both satisfaction with housework and satisfaction with job. Among these were the self concept items of being good at organizing, efficient, patient, ambitious, and having skills for a job. This list is a summary of qualities which an employer would want, but these also characterize an effective person. A housewife with these qualities would be efficient and might be one who would go to work as her children grow older.

### S8.21 Satisfied Homemaker

Some items correlated significantly only with being satisfied with housework and not with job satisfaction. These items helped in delineating women who appeared to be most satisfied to be at home doing housework. Some of these items were among those associated with the traditionally feminine expressive character, being a good listener, affectionate, and cautious. Two items were associated with what we are calling "Woman as Second Sex:" " A woman should vote like her husband" and "It is enough for a woman to get respect through her husband and children." These women were high in satisfaction with the way they were raising their children and had confidence that their child would do what was right even though the gang might try to lead the child astray. This satisfaction is related to reporting that things were going well between them and their husband. Although satisfaction with housework was negatively related to being employed, the women were ambitious and felt that things will be better for them in the next five years, perhaps through better prospects for their husbands. They were doing a good job with the inside of their house as rated by the interviewer so apparently their satisfaction was realistically based on accomplishment. They had a network of relatives with whom they talked frequently and these people supported their staying at home.

### S8.22 Satisfied Employee

Other items correlated significantly only with job satisfaction and not with housework. These can be thought of as helping to delineate the characteristics of happy workers. These women have additional qualities good for an employee beyond those common to both groups. They were good at smoothing things over, tended to blame themselves when things went wrong, thought of themselves as competent and felt they learned things more easily than other people. These women stated they were happy with their church, community activities and their friends, and reported an affiliative network of friends rather than relatives. These friends encouraged them to work. They were more apt to believe that a paid job brings more prestige than being a housewife but more apt to feel that work was nothing more than a way to make a living.

Being satisfied with one's job tends to be positively related to the duration of holding a job (.07) and to the duration of a previous job (.06). It is positively related to mother's age and negatively related to the number of preschool children (-.06).

## S8.3 Comments about Alternate Life Foci

The contrast between these two satisfactions has shown a concentration of characteristics, beliefs, and social supports for each. Those with husbands who were satisfied with housework were happy with husbands, children, and relatives. Those satisfied with work had friends who supported their working and tended to be not married or to have unemployed husbands so that their working was a necessity. They seemed to have adapted well and found satisfaction through this area of work outside the home. These two types of life styles, although similar in many ways, were differentiated by the satisfied homemakers being more other-oriented and being interested in finding fulfillment through achievements of their husband and children. The work-satisfied women were more aggressive and assertive. They felt more confident about their abilities to cope with problems. Each had found a niche and fulfillment in her own way.

The correlations reported here could be viewed the other way around. If this were done, it would be seen that the unsatisfied homemakers did not want to live through others and the dissatisfied workers felt inadequate. The dissatisfied homemakers should be identified and encouraged to find self fulfillment through work and the inadequate workers perhaps need different jobs or help with their functioning in the home.

## S9 Summary and Comments about the Employed Woman as a Person

The employed women were clearly differentiated from the nonemployed in their self concept. They were higher in their self esteem, were more instrumental, felt they could control their destiny, were more likely to take part in community activities such as voting, were more optimistic about the future and felt that their situation had improved over the last five years. They were also more satisfied with their health and their financial situation.

Cutting across the employment effect was the fact that the ex-welfare women were happier and had higher self confidence thus supporting the idea of a culture of poverty. For most comparisons there was a positive effect of having a husband. Being without a husband and accepting welfare both have negative connotations in our society today.

The nonemployed women were more likely to be satisfied with themselves in the role of traditional female areas - housework, children, church and friends - the standard kinder, kuche and kirche. They were also more likely to perceive themselves as objects rather than subjects - in de Beauvoir's term, the second sex.

The two personality typologies found in the two work settings of home and job were not different from each other in their overall level of satisfaction with life in general, and except for their financial situation and their health, were moderately satisfied with their lot, perceiving themselves as being above the average. Each group had found a way of life that seemed compatible with their personality or having found a way of life, they adapted to it. In any case, those who deviated in their personality typology or source of satisfaction are probably on their way to change and in the process of anticipatory socialization. Selection for job training programs might occur among those nonemployed who expected a high degree of satisfaction from the employment world.

Satisfaction with children was high for both homemakers and employees on the average. If there are homemakers for whom children are not as much of a satisfaction, work might provide an alternate satisfaction. For homemakers who are considering employment, assurances that children continue to be a large source of satisfaction for the employed may help resolve the ambivalence felt toward leaving home for a job.

## S10 Implications about the Employed Woman as a Person: A Self Assessment

1. Regardless of the cause and effect direction, and it probably is reciprocal, any efforts to increase the women's level of self esteem will probably increase their self infrastructure and will help them not only to be ready for employment but also to lead more satisfying lives.

2. Since it is unlikely that women will do well in a new job or training situation without the feeling that they are competent enough to make it, counseling at the crucial times when they are just beginning should be available not only for those who are in such organized programs as WIN but also for those who go directly from home to work.

3. Finding employment in the traditional female areas for those women who find this area satisfying would help them to accept employment and help them find personal fulfillment with a minimum of disruption to their self image.

# CHAPTER IX

# USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES

Women have many barriers to their getting and holding jobs while at the same time maintaining the home and taking care of the children. Lack of child care, difficulties with transportation, friends who support her staying at home, low general education and low job skills are all barriers.

There are also resources in most communities which aid women getting and holding a job. This chapter attempts to delineate some of these resources and determine whether the employed and nonemployed women have made more or less use of these resources and whether the resources are meeting their needs adequately.

## RC Child Care

Day care is an important barrier to the employment of women and is mentioned first in most discussions about getting more women into the labor force. This research had documented the fact that many women without preschool children, and even without young school age children, were not employed outside the home. Nevertheless, the problem of adequate care for small children has also been shown in this research to be a major problem for women.

There is controversy about whether home care or group center care is best for children. There is widespread advocacy for centers at the present time, but research on this question has frequently shown that home care is preferred by mothers. If home care is preferred, but experts feel that children at home are not getting the stimulation and experiences they need to prepare them for school, information is needed about the qualities of care women prefer so programs can be planned to enlist their cooperation.

This section deals with what the women are doing about care for their preschool children, what they would prefer, and the characteristics of the care which are of greatest concern to them. There is also a section on arrangements for school age children.

## RC 1 Type of Child Care Used for Preschool Children

The women were first asked to describe the day care arrangement they were now using. Women with no preschool children, or not working outside the home, were asked to describe the arrangement they did use in the past, or the arrangement they would be most likely to use if they did go to work. The percentage who used a given type of care are shown below.

Table RC 1

Type of Preschool Child Care Used

(Percent)

| Type of care used | Never or few | About half | Most or all |
|---|---|---|---|
| Own home; relative or sitter comes in | 39 | 3 | 57 |
| Relative's or friend's home | 75 | 4 | 21 |
| Regular day care center | 88 | 2 | 10 |
| Other private home; paid babysitter, not licensed | 90 | 2 | 8 |
| Private home licensed as day care center | 95 | 2 | 5 |

These results show that the service most frequently used was a relative or sitter in the home, with a relative's or friend's house as the second. Day care centers were a poor third, but other paid private homes, licensed or not, were less frequently used than centers.

When there were differences between those who were employed and those not employed, it was in the direction of more use of home care by the nonemployed. There was more use of day care centers by the welfare than by the ex-welfare group. The welfare groups were the ones most likely to have been given the opportunity to place their children in Head Start, so it is not surprising that more in this group reported using regular day care centers.

The report that only 10% used day care centers most or all of the time is the most interesting figure of this table given the national concern with the provisions of such centers. Were centers not available or were they not preferred by the women who have preschool children?

### RC 2 Type of Child Care Preferred

In order to find whether the low use of day care centers was because of preference for other kinds of care, or because of unavailability of such care, some additional questions were asked. The women were asked, "If you could have any child care arrangement, where would you prefer to have it?" The alternatives were the same as above. The percent of women choosing these alternatives as first or second choice are given below.

Table RC 2

Preferences for Type of Preschool Day Care

(Percent)

| Type of care | First preference | Second preference |
|---|---|---|
| Own home | 67 | 15 |
| Regular day care center | 17 | 20 |
| Relative's or friend's home | 8 | 43 |
| Private home, licensed | 4 | 10 |
| Private home, not licensed | 2 | 7 |
| Other, and no answer | 1 | 4 |
| Total | 99% | 99% |

These figures show that the overwhelming first preference is for care in their own home, with 67% giving this first choice and 15% giving it second. Relative's or friend's home had only 8% for first preference but was given second preference by 43% of the sample, and was the second choice of most women. Regular day care center was second highest in first choices, preferred by 17% of the women with 20% giving this type of care second choice. The licensed private homes were preferred to unlicensed, although only 6% total chose home care other than their own or a friend or relative. Clearly there was preference for people they knew first, then an institutionalized setting where they could count on the quality of the care, with private day care homes last. There were more women desiring center care, as seen in their first choice, than were using this type of care.

## RC 3 Evaluation of Child Care Facilities by the Mother

If women are to be provided with the type of care they would prefer, it is important to know the qualities they look for when they are seeking care for a child, and to know the problems and satisfactions they find in their present arrangements. In a series of items the women were asked to indicate what aspects of their child's care was a problem or satisfaction.

Table RC 3

Percentages Reporting Aspects of Child Care as Problems
(Obverse of each percent = neutral or satisfaction)

| Item | % saying this is important or slight problem |
|---|---|
| Convenience | |
| Caring for a sick child | 39 |
| Permanence | 31 |
| Cost | 30 |
| Location, transportation | 27 |
| Hours | 19 |
| Mean percent | 29 |
| Social interpersonal | |
| Person in charge | 26 |
| How children are treated | 24 |
| Other children | 21 |
| Mean percent | 24 |
| Physical condition | |
| Setting | 22 |
| Clean and safe | 18 |
| Mean percent | 20 |
| Type of activities | 21 |

Care for the sick child was listed as the number one problem. Next in importance to sickness among the problems of convenience were permanence, cost, location, and hours. Although some women have found satisfactory ways of solving these problems, day care programs in general have not met the needs of women in this regard, especially women in rural areas.

The social environment of the child was the second most problematic area. About a quarter of the women were concerned about the person in charge, how the children were treated, and the kinds of other children in the center.

About one fifth of the women were concerned about the physical setting where their child would be spending most of hir time. The women were worried the place would not be clean and safe or had some other undesirable feature. About the same number of women were concerned about the activities.

## RC 4 Location of Child Care at Place of Work

The location of day care was mentioned by 27% as a problem. Some advocate the location of day care centers at the place of work. The women were asked, "If you had a say in the location of a new day care center, where would you prefer to have it?" Eighty percent of the sample said they would prefer having the center in their neighborhood or somewhere else, not where they work, and for many women, the location of a day care center at their work place would not be practical. However, since 20% indicated they would like day care at their place of work, any employer of a large group of young women should look into provisions for day care, or be encouraged to do so by the women employees themselves.

It has been reported that about one fifth of the sample would prefer day care center care and about one fifth would like a center at their place of work. In order to find out which problems of day care women felt were better solved by home care or by center care, additional questions on day care were included in the panel study. With the national concern over day care centers, it was important to try to find out what mothers thought about this type of care.

## RC 5 Full Day Nursery vs. Family Care

For the previous questions from the original questionnaire study, the mothers were to answer in terms of their arrangements for their preschool children, defined as a child between the ages of two and five. It was not to deal with infants, but some women might have been thinking of their very young child. Although there was preference for home care, presumably because of the difficulties of care for a sick child, transport, convenience, and cost, it might be supposed that as the child got older, there would be more interest in the educational advantages offered by a nursery school.

For the panel study, the questions on home vs. center care were phrased differently. The introduction stated, "The following items are things that are important to many mothers when they are getting care for their three to five year old children. We would like to know your opinions about whether a full day nursery school (this includes day care centers and Head Start) or having your children cared for in your own or someone else's home is the better solution to each of the following problems." The age of the child was defined as three to five, a slightly older group than the minimum age of two asked for in the previous set of questions. This was done so as to eliminate the home care preference for younger children. The term "full day nursery school" was used instead of day care center to eliminate the part-day problem and to give a better image of nursery school over day care. The items and results are shown in the table below. The items were coded as folows: 0 = full day nursery, 1 = both the same, and 2 = home care. The higher the mean, the higher the preference for home care.

Table RC 5

Employment Effect for the Item:

"Which is the better solution to the following child care problems?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Which place: | | | | |
| is better to care for a sick child? | 1.92 | 1.87 | n.s. | 1.90 |
| gives more personal attention? | 1.59 | 1.62 | n.s. | 1.61 |
| cares for the child the way you want? | 1.42 | 1.41 | n.s. | 1.41 |
| is more convenient in hours and location? | 1.36 | 1.43 | n.s. | 1.41 |
| is more fun for children? | .44 | .60 | .001 | .55 |
| is better for a child to learn things that would help him do well in school? | .28 | .47 | .001 | .40 |
| is better to learn how to get along with others? | .32 | .41 | .05 | .38 |
| Overall mean | 1.05 | 1.12 | n.s. | 1.09 |

These results help us to see how the women viewed the nursery school as opposed to home care. We see again, the problem of the sick child is clearly one which women as a whole see as being best taken care of at home. Ninety-four percent of the sample said home care was better and only 4% said nursery school, while 2% said there was no difference.

The three items of more personal attention, cares for the child the way you want, and convenient location were all seen by the majority of the women as being better solved in the home situation, but for each, there was about an eighth who said there was no difference and another eighth who said that the nursery school was better.

The four items discussed above showed no difference between the working and the nonworking mothers. The last three items, concerned with the child having fun, learning things which would help him do well in school, and learning how to get along with others, all showed that the employed women thought the nursery school was more likely to do these things better than the nonemployed women thought. We have shown that the employed women have more education themselves and here it is seen that they think an organized program is more likely to be helpful to their child than home care.

To further explicate what the women felt was the most important aspect of child care, the women were to rank three items to show which they thought was the most important thing about child care, and which was the second most important. The three items and their means are shown in the table. A rank of 1 = score 2 and a rank of 2 = score 1, thus giving a higher mean value for first choice.

Table RC 5a
Employment Effect for the Item:
"Which do you think is the most important thing about child care?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Having your child cared for as you wish | 1.29 | 1.25 | n.s. | 1.26 |
| Teaching children how to get along with others | 1.05 | 1.00 | n.s. | 1.02 |
| Learn things for school | .56 | .58 | n.s. | .58 |

The item, having your child cared for as you wish, received the highest number of first ranks. This is very important in that it shows that women want to be involved in the decision of what happens to their children. About 45% thought children could best learn things to help them in school at the nursery school, but only a fourth thought children could best learn how to get along with others at a school.

After these questions which showed considerable interest in an organized day nursery school, the women were asked, "Where would you prefer to have your child cared for if you were working and had a preschool age child?" They were instructed not to consider cost, only what was best for the child. The mean for this comparison was 1.08 on a 0 to 2 scale, and there was no difference between the employment groups. Overall, 52% of the women said they would rather have their children cared for at home, 2% said there was no difference, and 46% said they would prefer the full day nursery school. This is the highest percentage of women indicating interest in a center of any of our items.

Apparently large numbers of women would prefer sending their child to a nursery school rather than provide home care for hir, but it has been reported that only 10% of the mothers were using a day care center. As a final question on the panel, women were asked, "Is there a group day care center or full day nursery school a reasonable distance away from your place of work or your home where you could send your preschool child if you wanted to?" There were no differences by employment groups. Thirty-eight percent of the women said "yes" there was a school, another 38% said they were not sure, and only 22% said there was no school!

### RC 6 Problems with Child Care - School age

Many people are saying that as soon as the children become school age a mother can go to work without concern for the care of her children. It is of interest to see what this sample of women have done about arrangements for their six to twelve year old children in order to substitute for the personal care they themselves would give, if they stayed at home.

The women were asked, "When you are holding a job, what sort of arrangements have you made for your 6 to 12 year old child?" Mothers not now working were asked to report their most recent arrangement for their child when they were working. The percent of women making different arrangements are shown in the table below.

Table RC 6

Arrangements made for caring of children
6 to 12 when the mother works

| Item | Percent |
|---|---|
| No arrangements | 13 |
| Other child | 15 |
| Other adult | 43 |
| Group care, YMCA, or after-school program | 1 |
| Paid individual care | 13 |
| I take care of him myself | 15 |
| Total | 100% |

The most striking finding of these results is that only 1% of the mothers reported using group care arrangement for their child. This may reflect reluctance of mothers to use these arrangements, but it is even more likely that there were few, if any, of these programs which were known to them, available, and convenient to the women of our rurban sample. The most frequent arrangement was that of another adult, but since there is another category of paid individual care, it is likely that the other adult mentioned was a friend, relative, or husband who did the child watching without compensation. Since 13% made no arrangements and 15% had their children in the care of another child, we can assume that these arrangements left much to be desired. It would seem that for women who use "non"-arrangements, there is legitimate cause for concern.

Although the five arrangements were non-linear, they do form a continuum of sorts from none to complete care by the mother. When these numbers, as coded, were analyzed by analysis of variance, an overall mean of 2.30 was found and there was a significant difference between the employed and the nonemployed with the nonemployed having a higher mean score (means = 2.10 vs. 2.40)***. This may reflect the fact that the nonemployed women had not had any job and therefore had to report that they took care of the child themselves. It might also mean that the nonemployed, by our definition those who did not work outside of the home, were indeed working as day care mothers and could, therefore, take care of their own children at home.

Although there were no other significant effects, it is interesting to note that the welfare employed groups had 26% reporting care by another child while the overall average for the arrangement was only 15%. From these data it appears that further study of the care of young school age children of working mothers is needed.

The women were asked the direct question, "Do you have problems with these arrangements?" Only 18% said they had problems. There was a significant difference between the employed and the nonemployed with the employed reporting fewer problems (means = .16 vs. .22)*.

The husband-present women reported fewer problems with care for their school age children than did the husband-absent (means = .15 vs. .25)**. This must indicate that many of the "other adults" were indeed the husbands. For many of the working mothers there was a disabled husband at home, but for others, husband and wife might work shifts which allowed one to be with the children while the other was working.

The difference in problems reported by the nonemployed may indicate some of the reasons the nonemployed are not working. If they have tried work, and have found it a problem to find reliable care for their children, they may have decided that it was better to stay home.

In response to an open ended question on the panel study, the women wrote in why they left their last job. Nine percent indicated a child centered reason. When the employed were contrasted with the nonemployed, the employed were shown to have mentioned fewer child reasons for quitting a job (means = .06 vs. .12)**. (For this question the nonemployed were to indicate their most recent job.) At any rate, it is entirely possible that those not working did have more child problems than those working and the evidence on child sickness supports this.

## RC 7 Summary and Comments about Child Care

Women much preferred having their preschool child cared for in families rather than in day care centers or in full day nursery schools. Family care, in their own or someone else's house, was used most often.

An analysis of the problems women saw with their present or potential day care arrangements indicated that in the women's minds, the problems of caring for the sick child was most serious. Permanence, cost, and location were all cited by more than a quarter of the women as problems. About a quarter of the women were concerned about social factors in the day care arrangement, the person in charge, how the children were treated, and the other children. About one fifth were concerned about physical setting and about a fifth were concerned about the type of activities where their child was cared for.

These problems must be considered when setting up programs. Can these concerns be met in day care centers? Having a regular sitter come to the home is obviously the best way to care for child illness and if there is to be center care for children, some way must be found to cope with the present limitations of care of the sick child.

In a day care center, especially if government supported, it should be possible to solve the problems of permanence, hours, and cost. Location may be more of a problem since a central location may be very inconvenient for a variety of work locations. It would be expected that a child care center at a place of work would be most convenient when large numbers of women were assembled for work in one place and 20% of the women reported they would like this. For the rural women, and for the women in locations with little public transportation, problems of getting a child to a center may be serious.

The social interpersonal problems may be serious in the minds of the mothers if they have no control over the personnel. It may be that the lower class working women feel reluctant to entrust their child to middle class teachers who they feel may not share their values.

Mother's concern about the physical situation is understandable, but in general, one would think that the conditions in a center would be as good as in a home, so this should not deter mothers from placing their child in a center.

When the women were aksed to report whether they thought home care or full day nursery school care was better to solve problems of child care, it was found that there was pretty much agreement that home care was better to care for the sick child, to give personal attention, to care for the child the way they wanted, and was more convenient. On the other hand, there was pretty general agreement that the full day nursery school was better for learning how to get along with others, learning things to help for school, and was most fun for the children. Although for every item more of the nonemployed thought home care was better, the differences for the two groups were significant only for the last items concerned with the program, social skills, educational skills, and amusement. If mothers staying at home are thinking that they are not only giving better physical care to their child, but also deny the social and fun aspects of a day care center, it will be hard to convince them that they should go to work and place their child in a center. One woman interviewed said she did not want her child to go to a nursery school because he should have some fun before he had to go to school!

When the mothers were asked to rank three items to indicate what they thought was the most important thing about child care, "Having your child cared for as you wish" received the most first ranks. "Teaching children how to get along" was second, and "Learn things for school" was a poor third. These findings are very important and point up the need for women to feel that they are in control of what happens to their children. Working women themselves should be on an advisory board to make sure the program is what women want. The lower value placed on preparation for school is a problem.

One of the major limitations of the nursery school is that it only deals with one, or at most two, children in a family who meet its age requirements. For the children who are younger or older the center provides no service. For many of the women in this study, there were many children. If a mother goes to work, she needs someone at home to be there to take care of the little ones, maybe get the school age children ready for school in the morning, give them lunch at noon, and be there after school when the children come home. Home care provides this convenience. It does not provide as good care in other respects. Women need to be educated to demand these other aspects of care and then have the choice of home or center care for their child, with the assurance that both will be acceptable in providing the experiences children need before going to school. Only one fifth of the mothers reported problems with the activities at the place where they left their child.

In family care homes, or even at friend's or relative's homes, one wonders how much the mothers know about what is going on. On wonders whether those who see this as a problem are those who are worried about bad things happening, or about what good things are not happening, such as stimulating intellectual activities.

Observation about programs in home care centers indicates a need for training and stimulation of the caretaker, to make the program more valuable. Most of the activities currently being provided are very minimal and can best be described as "baby sitting."

In the case studies there is a description of the care of eight children in a private home with a mother who was proud of her "profession" now that she has become a "day care mother." The interviewer described her as a very poor housekeeper who, during the time the interviewer was present, gave loving attention only to the youngest of the children, and yelled at the others. Her afternoon was spent watching the soap operas on TV while the children minded themselves. This woman's own children are emotionally disturbed.

Two thirds of the women did not know about, or did not have, a day care center in their community. A smaller number were actually using day care centers than knew that one was available.

This question makes it seem as though there were plenty of spaces in nursery schools. But our other results show that there is a preference for day care which is not being used. Is the factor of cost the critical factor withholding participation, or is it availability, or reluctance to give up the child to anyone especially a stranger associated with being a teacher?

Anytime there were differences in responses between the employed and the nonemployed, the employed were more positive about educational experiences for their children and they found fewer problems than the nonemployed expected to find. The employed were more willing to let others provide care for their children and felt that this care was more educational for the child and his future development. The nonemployed appeared to be much more fearful of allowing anyone else to care for their children, as summarized in the case studies.

> J. Fitchen, in her report on the families of "Road Junction" dramatically makes the point that the potential dangers children grow up in are such that many women are realistic in feeling reluctant to leave their children home alone in the care of others while they are working. Although this reflects in part the kind of external discipline which often does not train children to internalize and control their own behaviors in dangerous situations, the threats of accidents or injuries to young children is an omnipresent one. Several children in our case study families had been killed in freak accidents.

More on the problems of day care from the case studies:

> Among working women we find nearly all having some complaint concerning care for their children in their absence. A sporadic work pattern is often due in part to a mother's inability to get reliable day care. Periodic workers commonly report some dramatic occurence relating to their children which made them decide to quit work and stay home for the sake of their children. Although classified as a steady worker due to her long history of employment, the case of Mrs. D provides a case in point of the ways in which problems with children can affect a woman's work status.
>
> Soon after giving birth, Mrs. D stopped relying on kin for child care due to a move. She no longer felt secure about her arrangements, particularly when she found that her sitter was a heavy drinker who "showed favoritism." Her discovery that the woman was refusing to feed or show any attention at all to one of her sons led her to change both to a new house and job (the sitter was her landlady). Her next sitter was a young girl who "couldn't handle the kids" and would "get locked in the closet by the children." When she was dismissed, it became the oldest boy's job to take care of the children. At this point, however, the oldest son was brought to court for involve-

> ment with delinquent activity which suggests that he may have been less than adequate as a caretaker.

When mothers were asked about problems with care for their school age children, the employed and husband-present reported fewer. Since almost half (43%) of the mothers reported that their children were being cared for after school by another adult, it is likely that for many, this other adult was the husband. The important finding is that 13% of the mothers reported "no arrangement," and 15% reported their child was in the care of another child.

Only 1% of the women reported their school age child was cared for at an organized group care arrangement. Since for so many there were "no arrangements," and organized arrangements were so few, this surely is an area where there is need for programs. The same criteria of convenience, mother control, and quality of program need to be considered.

### RC 8 Implications about Child Care

1. Include discussion of criteria for good day care in training programs.

Part of the cited advantages of the Family Assistance Plan, H.R.I., is the hope that adequate day care for children will help these children move out of the welfare cycle. To this end, the bill proposes a voucher system which will allow a woman to select the type of child care she desires. This research has helped to give information about the preferences women have for child care. Most women, according to the findings here, will prefer home care, but substantial numbers will also be interested in centers. If money is available for all kinds of care, women need to be helped in deciding the criteria they will use to decide where they will spend their vouchers.

One aspect of job training might be to visit the day care available and have the women discuss what they should look for in a place where they might leave their child.

As reported in the section on problems and satisfactions, the educational aspects of the program in which their child was placed was not considered much of a problem. Perhaps women should be educated to the importance of this.

2. Upgrade family day care.

Given the advantages for the younger child of a more informal day care situation than that afforded by a day care center, efforts should be expended to improve family day care at home.

There are some innovative ways now being explored to upgrade family care. It is not very realistic to have the home care mother go to a day or evening class, but she could be called on regularly and materials left with her either free or at low cost. She and her charges could be picked up and brought to a center where the children could experience new activities and the day care mother observe and take part herself. A bus could be outfitted with creative materials and could call at family child care homes. University extension services could distribute information about low cost educational materials. University students could, as part of their course work, visit homes, provide free service and bring new materials and methods. The Department of Labor should be an advocate for these and other innovative activities since family care is so widely used by employed women and its upgrading is currently being neglected.

3. Require mothers to serve on an advisory committee for day care centers designed to care for their children. The research has shown that women highly value the opportunity to have their children cared for the way they want them cared for.

4. Encourage the hiring of aides from the neighborhood as workers in day care centers who would also be expected to participate in an active outreach program to maintain neighborhood confidence in the center.

5. Have an advisory committee discuss and try to come up with solutions to the problem of the sick child. Perhaps a community aide service could be set up so that a responsible person would go into a home for a few days when a child was sick in order that the mother would not lose her job because of absence or have to take an older child out of school.

## RP Preparation
## (Homemaking, Child Care, and High School)

We have called this section the Resource of Preparation. We have reported that employed women appeared to be better managers in their homes and have more education. We can think that, just as women need a personal infrastructure of personality qualities, so also they need an infrastructure of information and skills to help them manage their lives at home before they can go out of the home to take a job.

This section explores the interest of women in taking training or classes which would help them become better home managers and child managers, and would give them high school training. Job training will be discussed in a later section although the item showing willingness to take job training is included her here for comparison purposes.

The women were asked to indicate their interest in taking classes on these subjects. Answers were from 0 = definitely would not sign up to 4 = definitely would sign up. The items, with their means and the percent who would probably and definitely sign up for these classes, are shown in the table.

Table RP

Women Who Would Sign up for Classes

(Mean Score and Percentage)

| Item | Mean | Probably sign | Definitely sign |
|---|---|---|---|
| Job training | 2.72 | 36 | 38 |
| Homemaking | | | |
| Cooking, sewing, decorating | 2.42 | 43 | 24 |
| How to handle money, use credit | 2.03 | 32 | 22 |
| Overall mean | 2.25 | | |
| Child Care | | | |
| Helping child succeed in school | 2.60 | 46 | 27 |
| Managing and helping children to grow | 1.81 | 34 | 14 |
| Overall mean | 2.22 | | |
| General high school diploma subjects | 1.54 | 21 | 18 |
| Appreciation of art, music, literature | 1.42 | 24 | 12 |
| Overall mean | 2.09 | 33 | 22 |

The sum of all the training items showed no employment difference, but did show significant differences for welfare (means = 15.18 w vs. 13.01 ex-w)*** and for marital status (means = 15.20 h-a vs. 13.80 h-p)***. The welfare, husband-absent women were most interested in classes.

The material on these classes will be discussed according to the classes which would be relevant for the particular areas of concern of this study: homemaking, being a mother, being a person, and being a worker. Job training, with the highest mean, will be discussed in the next section.

In the chapter on homemaking, some of the problems of the ineffective homemaker were described. It was found that women who go to work are, in general, more capable and able to cope with their house, do more sewing, and are less satisfied with their finances. It might be thought that women who are staying at home would be interested in raising their skills for their own satisfaction, but also, one might think that if the efficiency of the home was improved, the women would have the additional energy to get a job at a time of financial need in the home. Also, since all of the women in this study were either on welfare, or had been on welfare, it would be hypothesized that interest in managing money might be of great use.

Cooking, sewing and decorating classes were popular. Twenty-four percent said they definitely would sign up, and another 43% said they probably would. In any interview one might think that people would tend to be positive about classes, but even so, the 24% who said they definitely would sign up were an indication that there would be people for classes if they were to be organized.

Slightly more than half of the women said they would sign up for classes in money management. Credit counselors working with all levels of income people find that people are being cheated by merchants and are unaware of how their money can be used to buy bargains and to take advantage of credit. Information about money management is useful for all levels, but very important for people whose income is limited. Twenty-two percent of the sample indicated they definitely would sign up for classes to learn about money and credit.

Our chapter on the woman as mother has shown the real concerns the women have about their children and their performance in school. In that chapter, of all the items about children, school performance was the area mothers reported as giving them least satisfaction. Here we see that learning about how to help children succeed in school was the second most popular class topic, second only to job training.

Since this is an area of concern and of willingness to learn more, classes on child training and also on how to manage children chould be made available to women. Our case studies are full of women's reports of how their teens are getting away from them and how they feel they are not able to cope with their children's problems.

For many of the concerns of this study, the more effective and efficient, and more often the employed, were those with higher education. It would seem that additional education would be an advantage to poor women. In the case studies, many of the women are shown to be those who had dropped out of school to get married and have a child, and therefore had not finished high school. Many women expressed the view that they wished they had not dropped out. For example, one woman said,

> Sometimes I think about changing my life if I could do it over...I wouldn't quit school in the tenth grade, that's for sure. I would finish and make something of myself. My sister - she finished and kept working after she got married. She's sitting pretty good right now. Some of my friends were quitting and getting married and some finished. I got married and I didn't think I'd be working - probably never would've if I didn't need the moeny.

Overall, 23% of our sample had eight years of school or less. Forty-two percent had 9 - 11 years, 29% had a high school education, and only 6% had more. Only 1% had a college degree or more. When the desire to take classes was related to the number of years of schooling, it was found that the women in the 9 - 11 years of schooling group were more interested in cooking and sewing classes, but there were no differences in interest in handling money and job training. The 18% who were interested in high school equivalency were more likely those in the 9 - 11 years of schooling group.

The question of interest in art, music and literature, that one might think of as being for the development of personal interests, was the lowest in expressed interest by the women, although even for that, there were 25% who would sign up.

Women were asked if they would be willing to do the types of activities which are necessary to get neighborhood classes going. The women were asked to indicate, "What would you personally be able to do to help such a class get started in this area?" Seventy-nine percent of our sample said they would be willing to help with refreshments, 73% would help get people to come, 56% would teach one lesson themselves after they had been taught it, and 49% would be a teacher's aide. Even though one might feel that these percentages over-represent the real willingness to perform they do show a great deal of support for the concept of organizing classes.

RP 1 Comments on the Resource of Preparation

These questions show a very great interest in further education by the women of our sample. If an average of 20% of our sample of over 1300 women would be interested in classes, and they only represent a sample of the women in the total area, it is apparent that there is a tremendous need and interest which is not being met at the present time. For many of the women, transportation would be a problem, and for many others, the burdens of housework and an outside job undoubtedly make taking classes an actual impossibility. However, we have here evidence of a yearning for more schooling. It is too bad that the message does not get to the girls of 15 and 16 who are dropping out, and to the schools which are not providing the programs to hold the interest of those girls so they will stick it out and graduate. Perhaps, also, it needs to be made easier for women to get back and get more education when they are ready for it, as they might not have been in their early teens.

In American rural life, for many years in the past, the Home Demonstration Unit was a prominent feature. Recently these Units have moved into the center cities to help provide the types of content oriented clubs traditionally provided by this organization. The tried and true method of teaching, as developed by the Home Demonstration Agents, was to have an expert teach a group of local leaders, who in turn went back to their local unit and taught the lesson to their friends. The women in the study showed that large numbers of them would be interested and willing to do the kinds of things necessary to bring these learning activities to this rurban sample.

The old Home Demonstration Unit has been nearly abandoned in many rural areas, for example, in Road Junction, the setting for our anthropological study of a group of people in rural poverty, it is reported that the Unit there has not been functioning for the last ten years. Without this Unit, and other community centers such as the church and school, there is very little community cohesion and a great feeling of social isolation.

Classes related to homemaking and child care could well be reinstated to bring not only information but also to aid in community solidarity.

### RAN Affiliative Network

In times of emergency or when advice was needed, what resources did the women have? Did low income women turn to friends or to family members when they had problems, or did they turn more frequently to professionals? What kinds of professionals were turned to? Did women go to their ministers, or to their social workers? This section attempts to determine sources of help.

To explore these questions, the women were asked to respond to some hypothetical problems requiring decisions. The problems were set by the following introduction: "Many people go only to certain people for advice when they have problems or for help when there is an emergency. Who would you turn to for help in each of the following situations, if you had a problem like that? Indicate the relationship of the person to you. To whom would you turn for help?" The problems posed were:

a. If you had a decision about stopping or continuing working?

b. On how to handle a teenage child who is running around with a bad crowd?

c. About what to say to a child who wants to drop out of school?

d. For advice about what to do when a former husband's support payments are irregular?

e. To lend you money if you need it badly?

f. If you had an emergency where you needed someone suddenly to care for you children for two days?

For purposes of discussion, the categories of people were grouped under headings of nuclear family, extended family, and external to the family. The questions were open ended and later coded so that 0 = no mention of a person in this category, 1 - 9 = actual number of persons mentioned in that category. Very small numbers indicate few mentions of a person in that category and higher numbers indicate one or more persons. Table RAN shows the sums for the three overall groups for the six questions.

Table RAN

Mean Number of Persons in Three Groups who would be Consulted

| | Questions | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Group | Work | Teenage | Drop out | Support | Loan | Child Care | Total |
| Nuclear family | .34 | .32 | .29 | .03 | .13 | .21 | 1.32 |
| Extended Family | .37 | .15 | .09 | .02 | .46 | .54 | 1.63 |
| External to family | .79 | .67 | .60 | .70 | .38 | .38 | 3.51 |
| Total number of people turned to* | not avail. | 1.65 | 1.61 | 1.45 | 1.44 | 1.41 | |

* Does not sum because more than one person might have been mentioned in one category.

From this table we can see that, in terms of the actual number of people mentioned, persons external to the family would be most frequently consulted, with the extended family next, and the nuclear family least often. The mean for the nuclear family masks the marital effect. Among the husband-present, 83% would consult their husbands.

These sums seem to represent the potential pool from which consultants could be drawn. Given the fact that only half of the sample had husbands and that many of the children were under 15 years of age, even the oldest child, perhaps the numbers of mentions for the nuclear family is surprisingly high.

There were differences in the people to which the women would turn depending on the type of problem. The nuclear family, mainly husbands, would be frequently turned to for advice about working, how to handle a teenage child, and what to say to the teenage potential drop out.

The extended family would be most likely turned to for help on the work question, lending money, and emergency care for the children. People external to the family would be most frequently turned to for the work question, advice about the husband's support payments, and how to handle a teenager running around with a bad crowd.

Parents are most likely to be called upon for financial assistance and for emergency child care, but were least likely to be called upon to help when the husband's support payments were irregular. After the parents, siblings were most apt to be called upon for financial assistance and other kindred family were most apt to be called upon for emergency child care.

Friends would be consulted more on the work decision, and would be turned to for a loan and for emergency child care. Ministers would be turned to for discussion of what to do about the child who was running around with the wrong crowd.

Welfare workers were as frequently mentioned for the work question as other professionals, and more frequently mentioned than professional counselors at work, friends at work, or other community leaders. Professionals (presumably welfare workers) would be turned to for help on support payments.

Professionals were mentioned very frequently by the women as persons they would turn to if their child was running around with a bad crowd, or if there was a child who was considering dropping out. Many of the case study interviews indicated that the women were making use of the school counselors and psychologists to get advice about their children.

It is surprising to note the total number of people women mentioned as people they would turn to. A large score would indicate that people had many personal resources while a few would indicate that they had fewer resources or else made larger use of a few. Although we cannot tell which of these was the case, the mean number of persons mentioned by our sample was 4.10. Using the eight categories of people available for most of the items, it was found that the average number of categories used by our sample was 3.94, practically an average of four categories per woman.

So far, in presenting these results, we have focused on the sample as a whole. On the question of whether to change their work status, the nonemployed and the welfare women would make more use of their welfare workers than would the employed or the ex-welfare women who had less frequent contact with welfare workers and less need for their advice.

For the other five questions, there was differential use of parents and siblings as resources by the different groups. Ex-welfare women showed a trend toward more reliance on parents for loans and child care. The employed would more often turn for emergency child care to their parents (means =

.33 vs. .21)*** but the nonemployed would be more apt to turn to their siblings (means = .09 vs. .05)*, although not much use would be made of this resource. These differences sum to show that the parents of the employed and the ex-welfare groups appear to have more resources in both finances and services which can be called upon by women who need help. The nonemployed would place more reliance on siblings rather than parents.

While the ex-welfare would go to parents for a loan, the welfare women more frequently indicated they would go to a friend (means = .32 va. .22)**.

Overall, the ex-welfare groups reported a slightly larger network, mentioning more people (means = 4.47 vs. 3.58)**.

For the question of changing work status, where welfare worker was coded, it was found that, as expected, the formerly welfare as a group did not turn to welfare workers. However, among those formerly on welfare without a job or a husband, 15% mentioned that they would discuss this problem with a welfare worker.

## RAN 1 Comments about the Affiliative Network

Women's responses indicating where they would turn to solve the hypothetical problems have shown that most of the women were not relying on a few people but had a variety of resources, personal and professional, upon which they could call.

In general, the employed and ex-welfare had a wider network and also apparently had more resources in their family of origin - more apt to call upon their parents for help. The nonemployed welfare would more frequently turn to siblings or friends for help and to professionals for advice.

Some ex-welfare husband-absent women turned to welfare workers. It would be valuable to follow up on these particular relationships to determine under what conditions welfare workers continue to provide this useful function for formerly welfare clients. What kind of persons are these welfare workers who are turned to after the need for their services as financial dispensers have been removed? They must have been significant in the lives of these women.

## RJ Job Training

When nonemployed women are considered for employment, a major consideration is the job skills they have to offer. The importance of job training is often emphasized and suggested as a way to help women get employment. This section assesses how the employed women got their training, what kinds of training they have had and whether it differs from that of the nonemployed. There is also information about women's interest in additional training.

### RJ 1 How did Women Get Qualified for a Job?

Employed women were asked, "How did you get the qualifications and training for your current job?" and the nonemployed women were asked, "How did you get the qualifications and training you have for working?" Four ways to get qualifed were listed and the women were to respond "no" = code 0, and "yes" = code 1. The means reported indicate the percentages giving "yes" responses. The results are shown in the following table.

Table RJ 1

Employment Effect for the Item:

"How did you get qualified for a job?"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Training on the job | .57 | .59 | n.s. | .59 |
| Past experience | .40 | .40 | n.s. | .40 |
| Job training at school | .14 | .14 | n.s. | .14 |
| Other job training | .07 | .07 | n.s. | .07 |

These comparisons show that in terms of their past training, the presently employed women had no difference in their training than the presently nonemployed.

The means show that over half of the women in our sample had obtained their training on the job, but that 40% had acquired their job training from some previous experience. Job training at school was indicated by only 14%, which indicates that the schools are directly helping very little in the job training of these women. Whether schools should, or could, be doing more is not the question of this research. Only 7% of the women report other job training.

Two interactions among these items are of interest to further explicate job training on employment. The interaction of marital status on employment is shown below.

Table RJ 1a

Marital Effect on Employment for the Item:
"Job training in school"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Husband-absent | .20 | .16 |
| Husband-present | .08 | .13 |

p .05

This interaction shows that although the means for the employed and the nonemployed did not differ, within the two groups, marital status had differential effects. In both groups, the husband-absent women had more job training in school but among the employed, this difference was considerable with 20% of the husband-absent workers reporting getting job training in school, while only 8% of the husband-present women reported getting job training in school. The marital main effect was also significant and one wonders whether women with job training are more apt to lose their husbands - do their husbands leave more willingly if they think their wives have the skills to support themselves, or are the wives more independent, as many men fear, and thus get divorced?

The interaction of welfare status on employment shows interesting effects on "other job training."

Table RJ 1b

Interaction of Welfare on Employment Status for the Item: "Other job training"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Welfare | .06 | .07 |
| Ex-welfare | .10 | .05 |

$p \quad .05$

The ex-welfare employed women more frequently report having other job training than do the welfare women. Perhaps this extra help has helped them get off welfare.

## RJ 2 Recent Training

If women who are now working had more education than those not working, as has been reported, and there was apparently no difference overall in the ways they were qualified for a job, were there differences in their recent training?

In a series of items on our original study, the women were asked about their recent training. For these comparisons, shown on Table RJ 2, it is seen that the employed were more likely to have had special training in the last five years and to have attended classes since they left high school, perhaps not as recently as in the last five years. All of these differences were highly significant. This more recent training, apparently, was indeed a significant factor in getting their present job. There were no significant interactions for these items.

Table RJ 2

Employment Effect on the Items:

"Recent training and post-high school courses"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| In the last five years, have you had any special training? | .22 | .14 | .001 | .16 |
| Attended any classes since left high school | .54 | .33 | .001 | .40 |

## RJ 3 Type of Job Training Beyond Regular School

In the panel study, the women were asked to indicate whether they had been involved in any kind of classroom program or correspondence course to learn a skill or occupation to further their education. The differences between the employment groups was highly significant (.001) with 42% of the employed and 24% of the nonemployed having had such training. There were no significant differences between the welfare groups.

The women listed the type of training they had had, and thos occupations listed by more than 2% are given in the table.

Table RJ 3

Percentages of Women Specifying Different Types of Job Training

| Occupation | Employed | Non employed | Welfare | Ex-welfare | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No training | 58 | 76 | 68 | 69 | 69 |
| Secretarial or clerical | 11 | 5 | 8 | 7 | 7 |
| Health aides (nurse, nutrition) | 7 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 5 |
| General education or H.S. equivalence | 6 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5 |
| Unspecified vocational | 4 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| Business school | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Personal skills | 2 | 3 | 2 | 5 | 3 |
| Other (less than 2%) | 7 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 5 |
| No answer | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

The results show that having or not having training does not differentiate the welfare from the ex-welfare, but does differentiate the nonemployed from the employed. More of the nonemployed have had no training, thus showing that if women had training they would be more likely to work. The employed were more likely to have had secretarial skills, and to have training for the aide positions. They were also more likely to have had other, nonspecified and specified training such as teacher aide, food services, cashier, saleswork, beautician and factory work, all with less than 2% indicating these types of training. It is interesting to note that the employed were more likely to have taken the work toward their high school equivalency but a few more nonemployed had taken personal interest courses. The differences were slight and not significant except for the difference in secretarial work and health aides.

The implication seems to be that people with training appear to work more often.

## RJ 4 Sponsors of Training Programs

The women were asked to list the sponsor of the training programs they had had since high school. The answer was open ended and each woman was to write in her own answer. Only 92 women did write in sponsors, so the sample is small and suggestive only.

## Table RJ 4

### Percent of women who specified sponsor of Training Program taken after High School

| Type of Program or Sponsor of Program | Employed | Non-employed | Welfare | Ex-welfare |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Community, local school, BOCES | 22 | 40 | 25 | 24 |
| Private-paid for private program | 22 | 38 | 25 | 32 |
| Employer or On Job Training | 18 | 9 | 14 | 14 |
| Federal program | 14 | 2 | 11 | 6 |
| MDTA | 12 | 2 | 11 | 4 |
| State program | 10 | 7 | 11 | 4 |
| WIN | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Actual number | 49 | 43 | 43 | 49 |

Although this sample was small, the sources of training are very interesting. The nonemployed, in this comparison,are shown to have more training in their communities in local schools and BOCES, and also in private schools which we have to assume were such schools as secretarial and beautician. These women, who one might think of as having the training for work, were not working at the time of the questionnaire. Among the employed sample, more women reported having on the job training, and as having participated in federal and state programs including MDTA but not WIN (although only one woman reported WIN and she was not working).

There were no differences according to welfare status on local school training, but the ex-welfare had paid for more training than the welfare women. The welfare group reports more use of these federal and state training programs as opposed to the BOCES and privately paid for training reported by the ex-welfare.

Thus it appears that the employed women tended to be those who have had recent training, much of it OJT or state and local programs since WIN was not widely available in this rurban area, while the nonemployed appeared to be those whose training was private or local, probably obtained a long time ago.

Whether the results of this small sample are generalizable to the larger sample is not known, but these results indicate that people with recent training in state or federal programs appear to be working, although they appear to be still on welfare.

## RJ 5 Interest in Further Training

If the nonemployed have had less recent training, would they be more interested in taking training for a job? It has already been reported that there was no difference between the employed and the nonemployed in their interest in taking classes in homemaking, children, high school equivalency, or in job training when asked in that sequence of items.

Table RJ 5

Employment Effect for the Item:

"Interest in further training"

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p | Overall mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Would you be willing to take more educational or skill training?( 0 = no, 1 = yes) | .83 | .73 | .001 | .76 |
| Would you be willing to study at night at home, at a school, and pay part of the cost? (The higher the score the more of these the woman would be willing to do | 3.78 | 2.70 | .001 | 3.07 |

The original questionnaire study found that 72% of the women were interested in job training and there did not seem to be any difference between the two employment groups. The two items shown in Table RJ 5 were items answered by our panel of women and shows that of those who responded, 76%, even higher than before, were interested in taking some sort of training. Among these women, the employed were more interested than the nonemployed (means = .83 vs. .73)***. When the women were asked what kind of effort they would be willing to put into their training, some were willing to take classes at night, study at home, or pay part of the cost but 26% were found to be willing to do all three. These women have to be thought of as very ambitious. There were equal percentages of welfare and ex-welfare women in this triple interest group (25% vs. 26%) but the employed were more ambitious than the nonemployed (33% vs. 20%).

That the employed were indeed more ambitious was confirmed by the answers to the question: "Do you have any plans for doing anything which would help you get a better job?" The employed were significantly more likely to say they had such plans (means = .31 vs. .25)*. Since the means in the yes-no question can be read as percentages, we can say that 31% of the employed and only 25% of the nonemployed were planning any better job situation for themselves. From this comparison however, we should not overlook the large percentage among the nonemployed who indicated that they wanted more training during the first interview, and the 25% who did have plans for a better job for themslves. Will the training opportunities be available to them?

RJ 6 Job Finding

There are a number of formal and informal pathways available to women in order to find a job. To what extent did the women use the formal as opposed to the informal channels?

Table RJ 6

Use and Effectiveness of Job Finding Resources

(Percent)

| Item | Not effective (used but no job) | Effective (got job) | Total use |
|---|---|---|---|
| Applied in person | 38 | 30 | 68 |
| Friends and Relatives | 33 | 14 | 46* |
| Newspaper ad | 34 | 7 | 41 |
| State employment service | 38 | 8 | 46 |
| O.E.O. | 15 | 2 | 17 |
| Other employment service | 9 | 1 | 9* |
| Other sources | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| Total | 170 | 67 | 235 |

The most frequently used resource in looking for a job was to apply in person. Friends and relatives and the state employment service were next most frequent, followed by newspaper ad. Other resources were used much less often, although O.E.O. was used by about one sixth of the women. On the average, the women used 2.35 of these resources when job hunting.

The most effective system in getting a job was not to utilize the formal agencies but to apply in person and to use friends and relatives. The State employment service was more effective than the O.E.O. or other employment services, but its level was low. The applied-in-person alternative was used for women who said they knew of the place and thought they might try to see if a job was available.

By coding 0 = did not use, 1 = did use but did not get a job, and 2 = did use and got a job, it was possible to compare the two employment groups. Significant differences were found when the nonemployed reported how they looked for their last job. The employed applied more often in person, while the nonemployed used other less effective resources.

## Table RJ 6a

## Employment Effect for the Item: "Use and effectiveness of job finding resources for last job."

| Item | Employed | Nonemployed | p |
|---|---|---|---|
| Applied in person | 1.16 | .88 | .001 |
| Friends and Relatives | .54 | .62 | .05 |
| State employment service | .44 | .59 | .001 |
| Answered an ad | .31 | .57 | .001 |
| O.E.O. | .13 | .22 | .001 |
| Other resource | .20 | .09 | .001 |
| Other employment service | .05 | .12 | .001 |

## RJ 7 Summary and Comments about Job Finding

The findings on job training show few differences in early job training between the employed and nonemployed, but the husband-absent had more training than the husband-present. The causal relationship here is not clear.

Among the employed, the ex-welfare women had more early training, but among the nonemployed, there was little difference between welfare and ex-welfare.

The panel study showed the employed had more training in clerical and health aide work. The sample was not differentiated by welfare status.

More employed and welfare women had participated in recent state and Federal programs. Although this training had resulted in employment, it did not get the women off welfare. More of the nonemployed had taken training they paid for, presumably secretarial or beauty work, but were not using this training. These women are more likely to be the husband-present ex-welfare.

Either more information should be fed into the informal network so that women could find out about jobs that are available or the formal networks might become more like the informal ones.

Some of the case study women found the formal networks quite forbidding. They complained about being treated in a fashion similar to that of women in a free hospital clinic. They spent a lot of time waiting. They are on semi-public display, and for women who hate being on welfare, this was a personal affront. They have that helpless feeling of dealing with a cold bureaucracy that has some power over their lives. It would seem that the use of paraprofessionals and specially trained persons who know both the technical aspects of the employment service and the special problems of poor women would be indicated. These specialists should spend most of their time directly in the field, contacting women in their homes.

This section of the report has shown that many women are looking for ways to upgrade themselves and apparently many would gladly take additional training.

The finding that women who have taken recent training are employed but that this employment has not enabled them to get off welfare raises some important questions. Is their continuing welfare status due to the size of their family which means that pay at the wage they can command is not enough to leave welfare? Or is the reason they are still on welfare a problem of the welfare rules themselves? Are the jobs for which they are being trained just too low paying to ever be able to support a family on just one salary? One salary of minimum wage is not enough to support a family above the poverty level especially if earned by a woman at a low status (paying) job.

## RT Transportation as a Barrier or Resource

After a job is found, the final task is to be able to get to the place of work. The need to provide transportation to work is usually an individual problem for the worker. How do people get to work? Is transportation a barrier to employment?

## RT 1 Transportation to Work

The women were asked to indicate their usual way of getting to work when they were working, either now or in the past. The table shows the percentages of the women who got to work by various means.

Table RT 1

Percentage Comparisons of Employment and Welfare Groups on Mode of Transportation for Getting to Work

| Method | Employed | Non-employed | Welfare | Ex-welfare | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Own car | 56 | 28*** | 34 | 49*** | 39 |
| Walk | 12 | 20** | 20 | 11** | 17 |
| Share a ride | 17 | 15 | 16 | 14 | 15 |
| Public transportation | 8 | 11 | 11 | 8 | 10 |
| Taxi | 4 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 4 |
| Other | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| No answer | 1 | 2*** | 12 | 5*** | 13 |

For the group as a whole, the use of their own car was the most frequent way of getting to work. For our rurban sample, the possession of a car in running order is very essential. Use of their own car is significantly different for the two employment groups with 56% of the employed using their own car, while only 28% of the nonemployed used their own car on their last job. When the sample was divided by welfare status it was shown that 49% of the ex-welfare and only 34% of the welfare used their own car.

When a family lives in a rural area and there are two workers, there is a need for two cars or else some special arrangement. Some of the personal reasons given on the questionnaire were revealing. One woman said, "I had different hours from my husband, and we only had one car, so I didn't take the job." Sometimes shifts did not quite overlap, thus extending the working day for a woman whose duties at home awaited her after a day working at a job. "My husband usually was very late to pick me up after work," or "It was too many hours away from my family when I was dependent on others for a ride."

Cars, while being a necessity, were also a source of tremendous problems. In the report on "Road Junction," the poor cars owned by the people were documented. The rurban dweller was the owner of those third and fourth hand cars that others have rejected, and they found tremendous difficulty keeping them in enough repair to be able to shop and get to work. Some comments illustrating the poor condition of these cars are: "I would like to work in the city but our car was not able to withstand the traffic." "We owned a car not good enough to go out of town in." Getting the frequent "new cars" licensed and insured were time consuming and expensive.

The second most frequent way of getting to work was by walking, with the nonemployed and the welfare groups tending more often to walk than use other methods of getting to work. For people who are dependent on walking, obviously jobs had to be close to where they lived. "After I moved I didn't have any transportation and it was too far to walk to work."

The third most frequent way of getting to work was sharing a ride and the groups did not differ in their use. The difficulties of this mode are expressed by one woman who said, "I had to be sure I had a ride. I live six miles out of town. I couldn't always depend on "X" because his car had trouble and sometimes he didn't get here on time." Another expressed the problem of shared ride when she reported, "The driver quit so I had to quit too." So it appears that owning a car had the problems of upkeep and the need for a car for each person, while sharing had the same limitations plus the difficulty of finding a person going to the same place of work at the same time.

Public transportation was more often used by the nonemployed and the welfare groups, but the difference was significant only at the .10 level. More use of public transportation and walking are the obverse of having your own car and indicated lower resources. Public transportation for many years has been becoming less and less available, and its use is limited by its nonavailability. One woman commented, "We have one family car and no bus transportation to the area." and another, "We lived off the busline and couldn't afford another car."

Many indicated reluctance to consider a job because of lack of public transportation. "There is no public transportation at the distance I need, and a taxi is far too expensive;" "No public transportation on the night shift;" "I would have too far to walk after leaving the bus;" or simply, "poor public transportation."

Some consumer economists point out the expense of owning a car and suggest that taking a taxi may be the most economical way to get to work. This turned out to be a problem for some who had committed themselves to that mode. "I quit because sometimes I couldn't get a cab;" or "Taxis are always late."

One woman's comments point up the sum of several of these problems. She said, "I had an accident with my car and the cab was too expensive while I was waiting for repairs of my car, so I decided to get a job closer to home."

The significant difference between the "no answers" indicates that more of those groups had not worked and therefore had no experience with transportation problems.

Some additional problems not mentioned in the above discussion were that several women indicated they did not drive and therefore could not get to work even if they had a car. In our case studies there is the report of a woman on welfare who had the training necessary for a job but the job required the ability to drive. The woman wanted the Department of Social Services to pay for her driving lessons so she could get her license but was refused. The woman fought this through a fair hearing and won the case. With her license she was able to get the job and now, partly because of her higher income, is off welfare.

It takes determination to fight through a principle like that. Many women are not so determined. One woman reported, "My son only has a learner's permit, and sometimes we could not get someone (licensed) to ride with us."

## RT 2 Frequency of Transportation Problems

The discussion so far has focused on ways of getting to work and some of the problems women have. How frequent was transportation a problem?

Questions on this topic were of two sorts. First, the effect of transportation on taking a job, and second, transportation as a reason for stopping a job. In the panel study the women were asked to respond for themselves as workers, and also for their husbands. The results of these questions are shown in Table RT 2.

Table Rt 2

Transportation Effect on Employment for Women and Men

| Item | Overall Mean |
|---|---|
| Women | |
| Travel affect decision to take or leave job? | .22 |
| Transportation mentioned as reason left job? | .03 |
| Men | |
| Travel affect decision to take or leave job? | .12 |
| Transportation mentioned as reason left job? | .01 |
| Transportation mentioned as reason for not working now? | .00 |

Both men and women, but apparently more women, found that transportation influenced their decision to take or leave a job. Our figures show that almost one fifth of the women had considered transportation when thinking about taking a job, but only 3% of the women mentioned transportation as the reason they left their last job. These figures seem to indicate that once a woman made up her mind that a certain job was possible in terms of transportation, very few later found problems with that arrangement so difficult they had to leave the job.

For men, the results were similar, but of lower magnitude with only 12% indicating that the men were affected in their job choice by transportation, and only 1% mentioned transporation as a reason for quitting a job. Lack of transportation was hardly mentioned as a reason for a husband's unemployment. There were no differences between employed and nonemployed women or their husbands.

A significant interaction between employment and marital status for the item on women's taking a job because of transportation showed that among the employed there were no differences attributable to husband-absence or husband-presence (means = .21 vs. .23), but among the nonemployed women there were more frequent mentions of transportation problems among the husband-absent women than among the husband-present (means = .28 vs. .16). For the woman who is trying to raise her family alone, reliable transportation which does not take too long is obviously a major consideration when considering a job.

Table RT 2a

Interaction of Marital on Employment Status for the Item:
"Did travel affect your decision to take or leave a job?"

| | means | |
|---|---|---|
| | Employed | Nonemployed |
| Husband-absent | .21 | .28 |
| Husband-present | .23 | .16 |

Some considerations which helped to determine taking or not taking a job were the costs of transportation as well as the convenience. Some comments were "I took a lower paying job nearer home to save on gas;" or "It was too far to drive for the amount of money involved."

## RT 3 Summary and Comments about Transportation

From these questions, it appears that transportation problems were significant barriers to employment for over a fifth of the sample. Transportation may be more of a problem for those living in rural or small town settings, such as the present sample, where public transportation facilities are very limited. The greater use of cars by the employed may reflect their ability to mobilize resources, and may indicate that with help for the purchase of a car, additional women might be able to go to work.

Driver education should be a part of training programs for women. Car ownership might be used as an incentive with a guaranteed loan for those who would take training for which a job was available.

The ability to drive, and ownership of a car in working order is a useful first step in developing autonomy in a woman and can be a help to her in becoming a more efficient homemaker if it gives her access to facilities previously inaccessable.

Help in making car pool arrangements should be part of the function of the job training agency. Preferably this help would come even before this time so that the women could accept training. Most of the training facilities are located quite a distance from the homes of the rural or small town residents and the organization of resources is a special problem. It is more economical to get the women to the center than to have a larger number of less adequate, but physically closer, training centers, but consideration might be given to having small centers as way stations to greater mobility.

## RS Summary and Comments about Use of Resources

This section has dealt with child care, transportation, affiliative network, preparation for work, training for work, and use of job finding facilities.

### 1. Child Care

Both family care and day care centers had some disadvantages. The day care center lacked convenience of hours and location but specially lacked care for children when they became ill. It did not offer as much personal attention and mothers felt they did not have as much control over what happened to their child. The day care center was perceived as providing more intellectual stimulation and social growth than family care. Since about half of the mothers preferred home care and half preferred day care centers, women should have the option to choose which system met their needs best. A voucher system would be a good way of giving women more control over their children and might encourage the facilities to adapt to the mother's needs.

The day care centers could improve their service by having more flexible hours which include early morning care for both preschool and school age children so mothers do not need to make intermediate arrangements. Location of centers at the place of work should be subsidized by the Department of Labor.

The care of children when they become sick was noted by practically all of the women as a serious problem. One solution for this problem is the formation of a group of health aides who could come to a home as a substitute for the mother who would have to stay home from work, or, as frequently happens, a substitute for the older child who is kept home from school to care for younger ones.

The low value given to intellectual stimulation of children points up another critical area, especially if the program is concerned with the next generation. A student small scale observational study of home care indicated that there was very little intellectual stimulation and confirmed anecdotal evidence. Efforts to improve family day care are being made in some communities. In addition to taking services to the day care mothers and bringing mothers and their charges to a central training facility, licensed day care mothers could receive regular packets of materials on both a permanent gift basis and also on loan. This material could be subsidized by the Department of Labor and could help a great deal in upgrading the quality of home care at very low cost as compared with the cost per child in organized day care centers.

During a job training period, training could include discussion about quality care for their child, and could include observation of stimulating programs for children.

Many school age children are left with no supervision or in the care of older siblings. Any programs to aid women in getting employment should consider adequate care for school age children, before and after school, and during vacations. These programs should have the same characteristics of mother control, intellectual content, safety and convenience that were discussed for the preschool children.

2. Transportation.

The most frequently used mode of transportation to work was an automobile. In rurban centers public transportation is rarely an economical solution since the homes are distant from each other and women tend to work in widely dispersed centers and at different hours. Where it would be economical, efforts should be made to encourage public transport and car pooling. At the present time, there is one public service which calls at all of these homes and this is the school bus. Whether these buses could be used to help in rural transportation should be investigated.

Many of the women not only had no car but did not know how to drive. They had never been independent since they had passed from their family of origin at an early age, into the control of their husbands. Many husbands did not want their wives to have the independence car ownership and ability to drive would provide. Driver education and preparation for car ownership while the girls were still in school would help provide the infrastructure for mobility and employment.

About half of our sample had no husband in the home, and among those receiving welfare the percentage was even higher. Using older cars, women need to know how to maintain and repair their own cars in order to get to work and be there on time. The Department of Labor should be an advocate for courses about car maintenance where these do not exist and should provide these courses as part of their "preparation for work" program.

Most of the government training programs are located in large cities. Women living in rural or rurban areas have difficulty getting to these. Therefore special transportation subsidies should be provided to women who qualify for the programs.

3. Affilitive Network

The women seemed to use resources outside of the family to help with problems. Professional advice should be available to women after they leave welfare, whether or not they join a formal program such as WIN which already provides such service. A voucher system which would allow a woman to turn to someone of her choice at a point of crisis might make a difference in a woman's decision to remain at work. Under a voucher system, it would be interesting to see what type of people were utilized for this advice.

The women had a strong interpersonal network they would turn to in relation to deciding whether or not to work. This network was composed mainly of the husband, children, and close friends with professionals and welfare workers as a secondary resource. The attitudes and preferences of these others in regard to the mother's working need to be taken into account. Women are not free agents in regard to their own employment, and offering them employment should include discussion of the barriers they would face when they talk about it with the significant others in their lives.

4. Preparation for work

Job training had the highest preference by the women for further training and this preference needs to be a central focus. However, women had a number of other significant lacks in being prepared for employment. Knowing how to drive a car has already been mentioned. Equally important to the women was knowing how to be more efficient in the care of the home, how to manage child care problems, how to help their children do well in school, how to be effective consumers and home managers, how to get along with their husbands when they were working, how to mobilize the resources of the family in helping with housework without creating resentment in others or guilt in themselves, and last but not least, how to provide inexpensive nutritious meals requiring less of their time.

These are examples of the kinds of problems that are unique to women as employees.

Ideally, women would have acquired this information from their mothers, or while in school, and would be ready to work, secure in the knowledge that they could cope with home problems. Many of the women in our sample were lacking in one or more of these skills. The Department of Labor should be advocates for the inclusion of these skills in public schools and in informal educational networks. Where this training is not provided, the Department of Labor should contract for appropriate classes in order to provide these preparatory skills women need before they can become reliable workers. During periods in their lives when women are not available for employment because they have small children, preparation for work programs should be offered to them.

### 5. Job training

In the body of the report it was shown that the employed were more apt to have had training in government programs while the nonemployed were more apt to have had private training which they had paid for. This seems to be a paradoxical finding. It may be that among the nonemployed were those who were skilled and yet, because of preschoolers in the home, were not employed at the time of our interview. People who paid for training must have had more family resources and are likely to be capable and ready to assume employment when the barriers of young children are removed.

The finding that the government training programs had reached people who were continuing in employment was a gratifying finding and should provide encouragement for those who are setting up such programs.

### 6. Job finding

The most interesting finding about getting a job was that the State employment service, although used by many, was not, in general, very effective in getting a job. The most effective way to get a job seemed to be to apply in person or get a job through friends and relatives. Since having friends and relatives is not teachable, training for employment should focus upon how to apply in person. A job counselor who would provide the personal coaching some may need would be a valuable service to women hoping to enter the work force.

7. Other comments

a. Home-Work Counselors: There is a need for specially trained, probably women, who would be aware of the special needs of the woman employee and would be able to counsel women in their job finding, home and child managing activities. This could be a course of study at the University or Community College level which would include business, sociology and human relations, and also home economics and child management skills and how to teach these skills to others. The program should include field work and internships in welfare offices and in state and national administrative units.

b. Community self study of resources: There was an appalling lack of knowledge about the overall resources of the community needed to help women with both home and work problems. Some agencies had an intensive view of some aspect of the resources but few knew of them. A special survey was completed about the resources in one county. It is suggested that each State employment service office initiate a survey of local resources and make it available not only to its own members but to all of the local agencies concerned with both the home and employment world. A copy of this report is available to serve as a model. A more condensed and focused version could be developed and handed to women considering employment.

## RI Implications about the Use of Resources

1. Women should have better options than they now have for the care of their preschool children. Day care centers should try to accomodate their hours to the needs of the women, should make some provision for the care of children when they become ill, should even more than they now do take the women's preferences about programs into account and interpret to them when they vary from those preferences.

2. Family day care needs more intellectual stimulation for the children. Licensing agencies need to attend more to this aspect of child care. Training of the family care mother should be undertaken on a mass scale. Several suggestions were noted in the report.

3. The care of children when they become ill is a serious problem for mothers who work and presently is neglected. A number of suggestions were noted including the training of health aides.

4. Those persons who are voluntarily selected as counselors should be studied so that they or persons like them should be trained as professional or paraprofessionals.

5. There should be more opportunities for rural and rurban women to take part in the WIN program. They are very desirous of training. They should either be transported to the large cities where the programs are located or the programs in module forn should be available in small cities and towns.

6. The formal job finding agencies are apparently not as successful in locating jobs for these women as were the women themselves or through the help of friends and relatives. These informal channels should be incorporated and learned from.

7. Job training should include driver training.

8. Job incentives could include car ownership

9. Manpower agencies should concern themselves with the transportation difficulties of people and, at a minimum, help in the organization of car pools.